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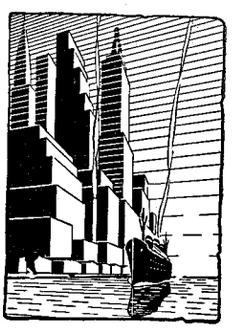
Occupations—
Today and Tomorrow
By Berta Crone



"EXPERIENCED PROFESSIONAL PEOPLE do not wish to be placed by an employment service, but they do need inside information concerning developments in their field in order to know where their services may be needed." I am quoting from a letter which I received recently from a woman whose technical knowledge and creative imagination have increased profits and good-will for several nationally-known manufacturers and distributors of food products. In the nature of things, her work with any single firm is of short duration. After she has improved the company's products, found new uses for them, originated new ones, devised new ways of interesting the ultimate consumer, supplied ideas and information to the promotional and advertising departments, the company feels that it no longer needs her services. With his technical knowledge this type of specialist may, and often does, increase the company's profits and foster good-will, but he rarely becomes a permanent member in the organization. Consequently he must either go from one position to another at frequent intervals or establish his own service organization.

•

Another letter which I have before me is from a man whom I have known for eight years. He was an advertising executive, and is a writer and a musician, the latter accomplishment being an avocation rather than a profession. Up to two years ago he was continuously employed in advertising, first by a manufacturer and later by an agency. He has, since he began work, changed his position a number of times, each change being a forward step in his career and in his services to the firm with which he was connected. But two years ago his work was terminated abruptly with a little note on his desk saying that his services were no longer needed and containing a check for two weeks' salary. Since then he has been only partly employed. Now in the midst of life, at thirty-five, he writes me as follows: "I should like to discuss with you the plans and aspirations of a group of people who are striving to organize outlets for the less than manual types, the poor exploited brain worker. Certainly the employment services as they now exist are ill-organized for giving service to the professional worker." So little notice is taken of the occupational and economic status of the professional class that many individuals in this group do seriously think that they are "less than manual workers." Some are trying to organize associations of and for themselves to find new markets for their services. The man who wrote me the above was graduated from a small, aristocratic college tucked away among the New England hills, not many years ago, and had been offered his first position with a New York business research organization while he was still at college, having been discovered by a visiting vice-president who had been dispatched by his firm to look over the year's crop of graduates.

•

I have another letter from a man who has contributed to the development of radio equipment for aircraft. Trained in mechanical science at a renowned university whence he had been graduated in 1924, he has devoted himself since to pure research in the radio field. After a brief apprenticeship in a governmental laboratory he was employed by an aircraft manufacturing company for research work. When in 1931 an economy program was put into effect he and his colleagues in the research department were the first to be dismissed. "I am interested in anything which involves research,—in science, economics, or education," he writes. In another part of the letter he says, "I have seen everyone I can think of, or that my friends can think of for me, who may be able now or in the future to employ me, or who may know of developments for which

NEW OUTLOOK, April, 1934. Volume 163. Number 4.
Published monthly by Outlook Publishing Co., Inc., 515 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. Yearly subscription $3. Entered as second class matter October 7, 1932, at the Post Office, New York, N. Y., under act of March 3, 1879.

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my knowledge and training qualify me. As yet I have met with little success. My acquaintance is not very wide among people who control the organizations in which such opportunities are most apt to occur. Unfortunately I have been too engrossed in my work to give much thought or time to seeing people, or as they say, to making contacts against a rainy day, and consequently I now know relatively few men in organizations, or connected with interests, in the fields in which I am most likely to be useful. I have made every effort to find work for myself. I am now at a loss to know what else to do, or where to turn. I have wondered many times in the last two years why there is no service developed to help people like myself who do not need 'vocational counsel' and do not fit into the routine of an employment agency system of service."

There are thousands of men and women like those from whose letters I have just quoted. They know what they are fit for, what their potentialities are, what they want to do, how to meet prospective employers without being formally introduced to them, but they need reliable information and expert advice regarding its proper use. The situation of this class today is very grave. Having begun their careers when world-wide economic conditions fostered occupational opportunities, they were brought to a sudden halt, and now they find themselves at a complete standstill. The situation of such a person in his early or mid-career is far more serious, in my opinion, than that of the beginner. The latter may continue his studies with less difficulty, adapt himself more readily to revolutionary changes which are taking place. But the person who is already well-started on his occupational course must break new ground in an unsurveyed field of economic activity.

The question is what can be done for this class of worker? How can he help himself? Can employment services, national, state or private, as they are now conceived and organized be of any use to the professional worker? Many think that they cannot. It is conceivable that they could be so if executives, and those who control the sources of work for the professional class, could be compelled to consult employment services when they need a highly trained person or specialized worker, or a special type of per-

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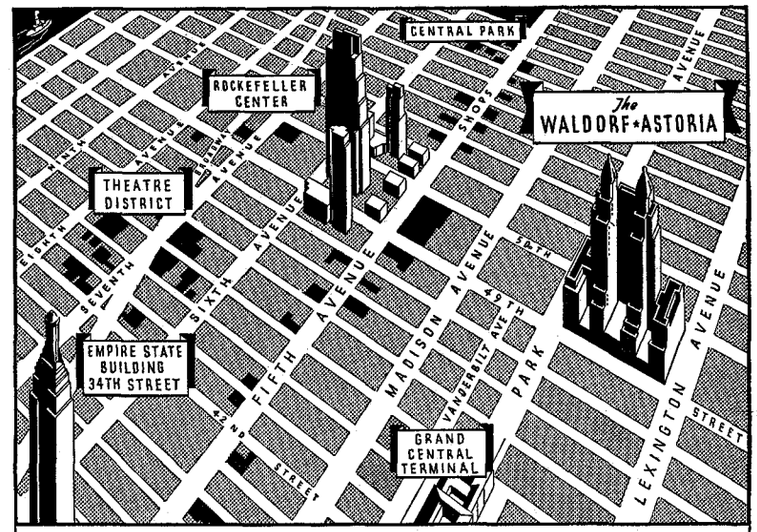

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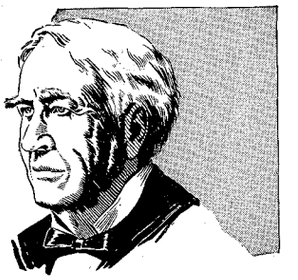
son. But there's the rub. Most executives or persons who occupy positions of trust and leadership and power are deeply prejudiced against employment services. To be sure, they avail themselves of their services when they need secretaries, clerks, bookkeepers, and persons for other standardized and mechanical forms of work. But only rarely do they willingly intrust the search for brains, talent, specialized training, or experience to the employment service. Instead they seek for these among their friends, their business and professional associates, or in newspaper advertisements, trade or professional periodical advertisements, college club placement services, college or university personnel bureaus, and in their own application files. A hit and miss process undoubtedly, but, nevertheless the most satisfactory means, it would seem. Will it be possible to change their habits? Will it be possible to compel them to use employment services,—national, state, or private? Unless this can be done, the professional worker cannot expect much help from the employment services, either public or private.

●

Why are most employers of brains or the professional worker class, so prejudiced against employment services? Doubtless because they have not been satisfied with the service is one reason. They get competent service from other kinds of services such as medical, legal, insurance, market research, investment counsel, advertising, publicity, and other service organizations. The employer or the organization pays for these and similar services, which have been organized to serve his interests as efficiently as possible. Only indirectly does the employer or organization pay for service from the state and national employment services. He or the organization does not pay as a rule for private employment service. (It is worthy of mention in this connection that one of the best placement services in existence for a special class of professional workers is one for which the employer, not the employee, pays.) And what happens as a result of this system? If an employer should see fit to consult an employment service, what does he do? He may ask the employment service to help him fill a position, or to find a highly specialized type of person for him, but he will also get in touch with all the other sources at his command,



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such as those listed above. This method of handling an employment problem within his organization should be contrasted with his handling of a legal problem. In regard to a legal problem he consults one firm, as a rule, waits until he gets results, and then pays for service. Although large sums of money and the efficient functioning of his organization may depend upon his handling the employment problem expertly, it is handled nevertheless in the manner described. Under this system it is, in my opinion, impossible for employers to get competent service and for professional workers to get reliable information and expert assistance from employment services. It is impossible for employment services, under this system, to function competently in serving the employer and the professional class of applicants.

It is not possible in our limited space to discuss, or even mention, other reasons why employment services, as they function today, cannot competently serve the interests of the employer or the professional worker. Some of the private services have tried to do this, but in our opinion they are doomed to failure by the attitude and the practices of those who use the service, both the applicants for work and the applicants for workers. The system needs to be examined and reorganized, if it is possible, along lines comparable to other professional services. The present method is extremely wasteful, to the applicant for work and the applicant for workers. Neither has any confidence in the service, mainly because under the present system it is impossible for him to obtain individual attention and service for which he pays in accordance with the service rendered.

The applicant for work files an application, and trusts to luck and the law of averages that he will hear of a position through the service with which he has filed his application. Lacking confidence in the service, he files applications with every employment service that he happens to know of. This entails an immense loss of time, duplication of work, bother to people whose names are given as references, and nervous strain on the applicant. In nine cases out of ten he probably never hears of a position through any of the services which accepted his application. Consequently he has no very high opinion of employment services. In this particular I

(*Continued on page* 64)

in
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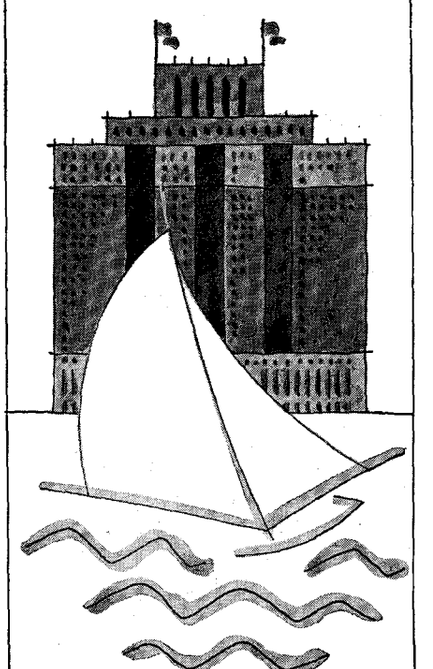

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VOLUME 163 NUMBER 4

NEW OUTLOOK IS PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY THE OUTLOOK PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC. FRANCIS WALTON, EDITOR; FRANK A. TICHENOR, PRESIDENT; J. H. GERHARDT, SECRETARY AND TREASURER. PUBLICATION AND BUSINESS OFFICE, 515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY. WASHINGTON OFFICE, NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C. YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION $3.00; CANADA AND FOREIGN $4.00.

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Its Fleece Was White As Snow
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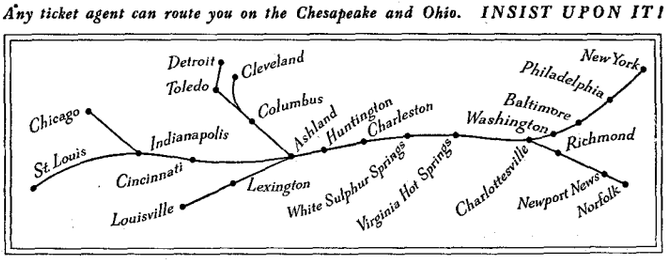

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Checklist of New Ideas

ON TARZAN AND RUGGED NAZISM

A picture which places mere instincts in the foreground and which has a tendency to argue that a jungle man, even a monkey, is capable of the noblest sentiments and is worthy to be a partner in matrimony, is in contradiction to the repopulation and other policies of National Socialism.—*Official Nazi Censors Bulletin banning "Tarzan of the Apes."*

ON SUDDEN DARKNESS IN A PUBLIC HALL

It's not my fault if the lights go out; but it just proves what I said about the public utilities.—*Norman Thomas, Socialist leader.*

ON ITALY'S FUTURE

In this age of plans, I want to lay before you a plan, not for five years, or ten years, but one for sixty years, carrying on to the 21st Century, at which time Italy will have the primacy of the world. . . . Every rural person will have a clean and healthy house. Only in this way can the rush to the city be combated.

—*Benito Mussolini.*

ON THE SIN OF BEER

While Mayor LaGuardia has been doing some wonderful things, it is deplorable that he should think so little of children and our city that he would allow debauchery on city property. To think of the sheepfold becoming a beer garden! It's just too much.—*Mrs. D. Leigh Colvin, President N. Y. State W. C. T. U.*

ON WHAT WE DID

Woman was once considered an inferior, but now that we've educated her she may prove a superior being.

—*Dr. Joseph Colt Bloodgood.*

ON HIS MAJESTY'S LOYAL OPPOSITION

We want to know what Republicans are for us. There's a possibility that we might not fight some of them so hard for re-election if their record is good as we would if it were bad.

—*Speaker Rainey (D.).*

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TROUBLE ALOFT!

By C. B. Allen

BY this time even the President's staunchest supporters are beginning to admit that the Administration has fumbled the air mail situation rather badly. They defend Mr. Roosevelt by saying that he was the victim of unwise counselors, but one of the fundamental measures of greatness is the ability to pick sound advisers; and the question arises immediately whether, having wrecked the old air transport set-up in America—which, whatever its vices, possessed the shining virtue of being a model in achievement for the rest of the world—he will benefit by any better guidance in his efforts to rebuild the demolished structure.

Thus far the signs have not been very encouraging. The most apparent trend in Washington has been a rather panic-stricken one, a tendency to clutch desperately after big headline names—Orville Wright, the father of aviation; its favorite son, Charles A. Lindbergh; Clarence Chamberlin, Eddie Rickenbacker and others—to shore up the Administration's weakened position in the air mail situation or possibly to divert attention from the basic issues at stake by a red-herring investigation of the Army Air Corps. As yet there has been no indication that Mr. Roosevelt intends to abandon the type of advice supplied him by such "experts" on aviation policy as Postmaster General James A. Farley and Senator Hugo L. Black, who are chiefly responsible for the position in which President Roosevelt currently finds himself.

At best it is an unenviable spot. On the one hand Mr. Roosevelt is disclosed as having canceled all of the Government's domestic air mail contracts, in a glow of righteous indignation over the alleged though apparently never-to-be-proven fact that they were obtained by fraud and collusion; on the other he is permitting at least two of these so-accused "crooked" contractors to go right ahead carrying this country's foreign air mail. Furthermore, he is discovered temporizing timorously with the whole foreign phase of America's air mail activities, his fearless and forthright pursuit of impartial justice for all and special privilege to none supplanted by an almost farcical attitude of compromise and expediency. To say the least, it is a sorry spectacle.

But it does, perhaps, prove what many of the President's supporters would rather not believe—that he is a practical politician first and a dauntless champion of principles second. In no other way is it possible to account for the Government's incongruous position regarding domestic and foreign air mail; certainly an air line that has been deprived arbitrarily of its contracts to fly the mail within the United States, because of its officials' alleged dishonesty, should not be considered worthy to fly the mail beyond our country's borders—yet that is exactly what has come to pass under the Rooseveltian regime. And this is but an introduction to absurdity, if it is fair to

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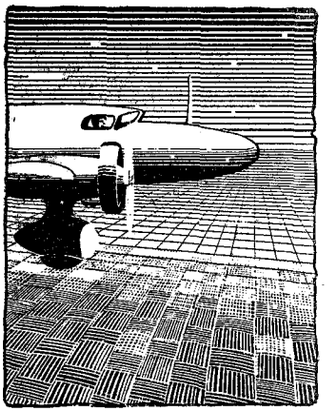

characterize as absurd the insistence upon applying one standard of judgment at home and an entirely different one outside the territorial limits of the United States.

Despite repeated charges in Congress by Representative Hamilton Fish, following cancelation of all the domestic air mail contracts, that similar action was withheld by the White House respecting the Government's agreements with its foreign air mail operators only because of substantial contributions to the Democratic National Campaign Fund by a director of the air line that enjoys a virtual monopoly in this field, such an explanation of the President's motive for staying his hand somehow lacks conviction. It is far more likely the real reason America's foreign air mail lines were spared—at least for the time being—was that even a Roosevelt did not dare to take on the international complications that immediately would have resulted from cancelation of their contracts.

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For it is one thing to issue a proclamation that the Army Air Corps will take over air mail flying within the borders of the United States and something else again to attempt any such move with respect to commercial lines extending into foreign territory. In the first place, it would have been physically impossible for the Army or the Navy to take over and operate the 25,000 mile network of international routes flown by Pan American Airways; in the second, it would have been, to say the least, diplomatically and industrially suicidal to make such a move even if Uncle Sam had possessed the equipment and personnel necessary to its execution.

The Pan American system encircles the Caribbean and South America, linking some thirty-one countries and colonies to the United States in a swift communications chain which has had a profoundly beneficial effect in the five years of its existence on this country's diplomatic and trade relations with its Latin-American neighbors. But while the suspicions and distrust born of a half-century's bungling and exploitation in this field may have been somewhat lulled in so short a period, they are far from having been eradicated. Any attempt to operate Yankee military planes through the domain of these small but sensitive Latin-American countries instantly would have been denounced, and, if necessary, repelled, as armed invasion on the part of the United States no matter what efforts were made to disguise it as a temporary "emergency" expedient.

There would also have been even more disastrous effects in another direction. The group of men responsible for the Pan American Airways system were aided and abetted in building it up at almost every turn by various branches of the United States Government; the Postoffice Department pumped the life-blood of financial support into its veins, the State Department did what it could to smooth the way for its negotiations at Latin-American capitals, the War and Navy Departments rendered such aid as they could and gave the project their moral support, while the Department of Commerce, because of the far-reaching effects such a development inevitably would have on this country's South American trade, gave the venture its whole-hearted backing. In effect, though it was a private undertaking, the Yankee dream of air empire in the Western Hemisphere was sponsored and vouched for by the accredited representatives of this government, and for Mr. Roosevelt, or anyone else in authority, to have about-faced and declared out of a clear sky that the air line was unworthy to do any more business with Uncle Sam would have dealt almost as serious a blow to this country's own standing as to that of the air line. For Pan American inevitably has assumed the aspects of a Yankee national institution, in the eyes of our Latin-American neighbors, and it would be next to impossible to disabuse their minds of this viewpoint. In such a case, disillusionment is a two-edged sword.

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It should be made clear that there is no direct connection between the contracts held by our foreign air mail operators, and the domestic air mail agreements abrogated at the direction of the President because of an allegedly fraudulent and collusive conference with former Postmaster General Walter F. Brown at which all of the domestic air mail operators were represented. Foreign and domestic air mail contracts were let under separate and distinct statutes, and no foreign air mail contractor attended Mr. Brown's so-called "spoils conference" except the two mentioned earlier, who were present in their dual capacity of domestic and foreign air mail operators. But it is clearer still that if, as many of its critics believe, the Administration merely seized upon the "spoils conference" as a technical pretext by which it could wreck the whole domestic air mail set-up, there were just as good excuses available whereby it might have canceled this country's foreign air mail contracts. Indeed, the most obvious of these have just been outlined above; half of the Government, it seems, went to bat for Pan American Airways in its struggle to establish a Latin-American operating system—doubtless under the patriotic conviction that such a development would be for the benefit of this country as a whole—but it would be very easy for a new set of political rulers to construe these actions as "collusion" of the most sinister sort. And this, of course, is exactly what happened in the case of the Brown "spoils conference," if one is to credit the sworn testimony either of Mr. Brown or the air mail operators who participated therein.

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It is doubtful if either Mr. Roosevelt or his advisers had any idea of the aftermath possibilities of the air mail situation when he made his decision to wipe out all contracts with the domestic air lines. Compared to the country's great industries, the gross business of the air lines adds up to an insignificant figure, and the number of people whose patronage they enjoy—a half a million passengers a year—would seem to be an almost negligible factor in the great mass of American population when it comes to the politician's inevitable weighing of popular sentiment. Besides, the President's action against the air lines was to be launched under the tried and proven auspices of an assault on intrenched capital, on powerful Wall Street-financed combinations which already had been

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portrayed by the one-sided revelations of a Senate investigating committee as ruthless plunderers of a paternalistic government rendered supine and vulnerable through the treacherous coöperation of a former Administration.

To a political mind the thing must have seemed surefire, another master-stroke in the campaign to establish Mr. Roosevelt firmly in the public mind as a relentless foeman of the "vested interests" and the tireless champion of the "forgotten man." This analysis, indeed, was borne out completely by the popular clamor resulting from the Senate Committee's "revelations." Under the adroit, if not altogether fair, guidance of Chairman Hugo Lafayette Black, there seemed to have been created what one so frequently hears referred to in Washington these days as a "favorable press." The time appeared to be entirely ripe for a spectacular play from the White House.

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But the strategists reckoned only with the apparent facts —and thereby they handed the President a poker that was designed to become very hot indeed. They had foreseen the tortured protests of the air lines, the cries of "confiscation" and even of "conviction without trial"; nay, they had counted on them—for Nero, himself, got no thrill out of the mere sight of a lion appeasing its hunger on passive and non-resisting Christians. There had been loud protestations before, and not from such small-fry capitalists, either; impotent and therefore all the more furious shouting about "constitutional rights." And, so far, it had clicked beautifully with a depression-scarred electorate in whose hearts smoldered an enduring hatred of all "bankers."

They failed to take into consideration, however, the fundamental difference between the situation with which they were now dealing and the other industries that had been made to feel the dictator-like hand of the New Deal. This can be summed up in the statement that a popular President in these extraordinary times may perfectly well get away with industrial murder against an unpopular old order of things so long as dollars only are being led to the slaughter, but that his support will turn to opposition as soon as the results begin to be measured in terms of human life. There are millions of ears in America today that are not averse to the screams of a captain of industry undergoing financial crucifixion (which he may or may not deserve) but other chords entirely are struck by the agonized sob of a mother who reads over a fellow bus passenger's shoulder the headline "Army Mail Pilot Killed in Crash" and learns upon fearful inquiry that the victim is her son.

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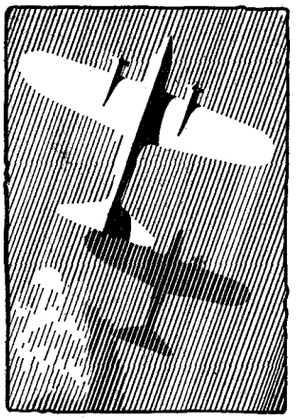
It strikes deep in the sympathy of the average American to read that another pilot's mother had lived in dread of the sound of her own door bell because, each time it rang, she was afraid that it was someone bearing news that her only son had been added to the list of those killed trying to fly the mail—a dismal foreboding that eventually came to tragic fulfillment. Then, too, there was the bride in far-away Texas, who was preparing to celebrate her first wedding anniversary when the news was flashed from Cheyenne, Wyoming, that the husband she had hoped to see in a few days had perished with another youngster, fresh out of the Air Corps training schools, in the flaming wreck of a military ship with which they were "practicing" the air mail routes.



One or two such incidents, though they might shake the resolution of a sensitive and very human President who felt that he had, even indirectly, brought them to pass, could be dismissed philosophically on the assurance of "expert" advisers that they were only the outcome of a natural law of averages. But as the crimson tide rose higher and higher about the White House steps and a storm of protest was loosed in every part of the nation, both Mr. Roosevelt's humanitarian instincts and his political astuteness revolted at the wanton human sacrifice. Acting as swiftly as he had in canceling the air lines' contracts, he halted both the mail and the slaughter when four deaths in a single day had brought to ten deaths the Army's total losses incident to a little more than two weeks' operation of the air mail. The thing had turned into a boomerang, and the broken bodies and wrecked machines it had dumped into the Administration's lap upon its return were apt to become a political millstone about the New Deal's neck.

The hapless Chief of the Army Air Corps, Major General Benjamin D. Foulois, who had seemed to play a very small part indeed in the preliminaries of launching a military air mail service on ten days' notice—the limelight having been almost completely monopolized by his non-flying superior, General Douglas MacArthur, Chief of Staff of the Army, who was full of assurances to the press that the Army could do as good, if not a better, job of flying the mail than the commercial air lines—now became the goat. The wily MacArthur, except for an uncomfortable session on the White House carpet in which both he and General Foulois are reported to have experienced the blazing wrath of the President for allowing him to believe that the Air Corps was adequately equipped and properly trained to fly the mail, slipped from under very neatly by asserting that he first learned through the newspapers of Mr. Roosevelt's order for the Army to take over the air mail. It was not very convincing, even to those who had forgotten his published boasts of a month before, but it was at least an *out*. This is the same General MacArthur, by the way, who handled the "Bonus Army" situation for Mr. Hoover with such bayonetted brilliance.

Lindbergh was another factor in the air mail contract cancelations that the New Deal strategists either failed to take into account or underestimated woefully in their advance calculations. Possibly Mr. Roosevelt has listened too seriously to the newspaper correspondents with whom he is surrounded, many of whom are openly hostile to a man they have never understood, whose confidence—and in many cases, whose respect—they have been unable to gain. Or, possibly, because he is a great popular hero himself, Mr. Roosevelt did not realize that anyone else might exercise an equally strong hold on the affection and regard of the American people. In any event, he sensed quickly enough that there was anything but unanimous popular support of his attempt to put Lindbergh in his place for daring to assert that the President had been un-

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fair in his autocratic treatment of the air mail operators, and to say that they deserved the basic American privilege of trial before conviction.

Evidence of this was given when the absurd charge of "publicity-seeking" by Lindbergh had resulted in a storm of criticism from the public, by the very obvious overture later on of inviting Lindbergh to confer with George H. Dern, Secretary of War, about the problems of Army aviation. No one for a moment supposes that Mr. Dern would have extended such an invitation without the prior assurance that such a move was desired by the President; indeed, it might easily have been made grounds for requesting the Secretary of War's resignation had he taken this step when Mr. Roosevelt was not in a mood to heal the apparent breach between himself and the country's foremost idol.

It is to the credit of Lindbergh's judgment, or that of his advisers, that he refused politely but firmly to walk into the neat trap laid for him by the Administration when Mr. Dern subsequently asked him to sit on a committee to investigate the very matters they had discussed informally at their first meeting. For such an inquiry, Lindbergh pointed out, must inevitably deal with the Army's air mail fiasco, a situation created in the beginning by what he considered an unjust and un-American procedure.

Being already on record concerning that issue, with a request that the air lines be given a fair hearing before being irrevocably deprived of their contracts, the reasonableness and logic of which, incidentally, has been sedulously side-stepped by the Roosevelt regime, he would have been an utter dolt to have followed any such aeronautical red herring as Secretary Dern dragged vainly across the trail. As to the other members of the proposed committee, with Orville Wright also declining to serve, and only Clarence Chamberlin accepting, it is clearly a packed jury picked from the Army's General Staff. The purpose, apparently, is to justify the same non-flying generals' conduct of the Air Corps since this branch of the service was deprived of the Assistant Secretary of War for Aeronautics which it enjoyed under the preceding administrations, and now so sorely needs to turn the tide of its losing battle with the Brass Hats at Washington.

The man in the street, whether he inclines to back up Lindbergh or the President in his view on the air mail contracts, obviously has come to the very definite conviction that something is basically wrong with the Air Corps. Unfortunately, the latter is in no position to defend itself without being open to the charge of trying to alibi, while a non-technical and somewhat unreasoning public either cannot or will not differentiate between various types of flying. The general attitude is that, if the Air Corps' flyers are as good pilots as they should be, they "ought to be able to fly anywhere, any time anyone else can." The public refuses to take into account the fact that, in the name of governmental economy, the Army's airmen have been starved on flying time until even their military efficiency has been woefully endangered (one of the men killed carrying the mail had flown a total of less than twenty-four hours in the eighteen months before being called to this hazardous duty in the midst of the year's worst flying weather) and the further all-important truth that an air mail pilot's job is highly specialized work for which the best flyer in the world would require months', if not years', of familiarization training under the guidance of experienced air line men.

It must be remembered in any fair discussion of the subject, that 90 per cent or more of the men who have been flying for the commercial air lines are former Army or Navy airmen. Before they broke in as air line pilots —and they broke in not as a group taking over a difficult operation in its entirety, but as apprentice pilots under veterans familiar with the routes they were flying—they had been trained as thoroughly in military aeronautics as the men who are now blamed because they have not made a brilliant success of flying the air mail. Nor do such men, in the normal development of air line pilots, come to be trusted with passengers and mail until they have been trained in this manner anywhere from one to three years. Is it any wonder then that the nation has been paying a terrific price for its crippled air mail service in the last month (before it was canceled entirely the volume of mail had fallen off more than fifty per cent, and the percentage of scheduled flights completed, by at least an equal amount) and that its chief value has been to the grisly souvenir trade which ranks high a postcard or letter—especially if it be torn or partially burned—rescued from the wreckage in which some pilot has died?

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In one or more of his famous radio talks with the American people, President Roosevelt declared that out of the many things he was attempting to accomplish, he undoubtedly would make mistakes, but that he hoped to have the courage both to admit and correct them. He must know by now that "it does not go down" with many Americans who have been his steadfast supporters that the air lines should have been deprived both of their property and the right to defend themselves before being so penalized. He certainly knows that he has been on the wrong tack in ordering an unprepared Army to carry the mail—his own acts constituting a grudging admission of this when he ordered an end of the useless slaughter. Where is this courage to admit and rectify mistakes? Why doesn't he go back to the beginning and start again, punishing the guilty if such are revealed in a court of justice, but repairing the obvious and almost irreparable injury he has done to an outstanding industry by reinstating those who can prove their innocence?

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EXTRA! Extra!

By Anthony North

Has America a free press? The writer seeks his answer in a series of forces which have recently come into play against American newspapers and which indicate impending change for that recently sole purveyor of news.

THE same headlines: the same fires? the same accidents? the same murders? the same scandals, political and otherwise?—Yes, with the names and addresses changed, of course—the same old Will Rogers's boxed philosophy. So it inevitably comes to appear to him who disgorges his two pennies in the morning (three in the evening) in order that his reading may not interfere with his running.

Outside the limits of these seemingly repetitious headlines, "News" in America cannot change any faster than human nature, which appears to be three-time winner and permanent possessor of the trophy for slow metamorphosis. Perhaps this is one of the reasons for the never-relaxing insistence of the good grey city editor upon correctness in the matter of first names and middle initials. There is certainly some ground for assuming that these are his really valuable wares. For it is not what is happening today but whom it is happening to that provides that all-essential volume of wordage to fill eight columns times the total number of pages of the daily issue (exclusive of advertising space, of course) some 360 times a year. It is told of a veteran newshound that when a friend inquired of his sudden and seemingly unreasoned decision to give up newspaper work forever, he replied, "When a reporter begins to be haunted with the impression that he has seen the latest three-alarm fire somewhere before—then it's time to quit."

Time, indeed! Not lightly to be dismissed, however, is the suggestion that the real hero of newspaperdom is frequently not the writer but the reader. It is the duty then of those responsible for good news-editing to see that this role does not become too onerous for the cash customer; to see that today's front page looks as little like yesterday's as is (honorably?) oh, humanly, of course, possible, in order that this year's net paid circulation may be able to look last year's in the face.

The information on what happened yesterday (today) to your next door neighbor, to your Congressman, to your pet hate, to your favorite screen star, to your Mayor, what your Senator or your President has just done for, or against, you, and also why it was so hot yesterday is the perishable commodity which the newspaper sells. The reason that you do not realize that this transference of information at a cost of only two or three cents is a commercial transaction (as opposed to the sense in which you are aware that light to see by in your home or office after the Gift of the Sun has Gone is a service for which you pay an Edison subsidiary) is perhaps because a newspaper in a free spech democracy stands as a god outside the normal, universal sphere of activity. It has, in America up until now, and largely through a clause in the Federal Constitution, been without a critic.

It is necessary to emphasize the adverb in the foregoing statement. The word in question is *largely*. The distribution of several hundred thousand words of presumably new information at a cost of only two or three cents (in some rare instances five cents) to the American citizen is due also, in a measure, to competition, due also to the organization of commercial advertising (developed here as nowhere else in the world). The high content of technical illiteracy in the American mass, despite the great taxpayer burden for free education, has been responsible for keeping down total circulation for the average standard American daily and the development here of those strange hybrids, the tabloid and the Hearst newspaper. The geography of America—the size and the extent of our nation, comparable in this respect only to Russia and China, has prevented the development of a single national caterer of free, and independently local and interesting, news. Outside of these conditions which have prevented the nation, supreme in the efficiency of news gathering, from achieving a world supremacy in the matter of an individual circulation master, the printing press has reached the quintessence of its democratic power—and also, alas, its limitation.

There is a frequently speculated upon, but unproven, theory that news moves in cycles. It is all very unscientific. The length of periodicity for the recurrence of the individual event (for different names and addresses, of course, and for the simple reason that a man can be murdered only once) does not seem to be exactly fixed. It is, as has been remarked, all very unscientific. The length of the period seems to change—regularly, or as the high and confused priests in a recognized science would say, by the rules of a varying constant. Nevertheless, like the mouthings of the rheumatic, usually aged, weather forecaster who pre-

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dicts approaching storms by the intensity of personal aches and pains, there is something not too scientifically to be counted upon, but never to be wholly ignored, in the after-press-time predictions of the old newshand who says, "You know, boys, it's about time we had a first-class murder in this town!"

In newsdom there is another frequently proven truism, that in the matter of volume of good, exciting news—*it never rains but it pours.* It is when skies are sunny and the human race that lives under them is at peace and on its best behavior that life becomes difficult and burdensome for the gentlemen responsible for "putting to bed" Late City editions and Five Star finals. Holocausts, floods and earthquakes are events to delight the heart of these sanguinary fellows. And perhaps it should not be otherwise, for the smiling circulation manager is always at hand with audited proof that news of murder, rape, disaster and a freshly dusted electric chair are things to make a newsstand cash register ring right merrily.

But the best of type is never of rubber and an eight-column banner always must make a modicum of sense and tell the news within that screaming length—namely, of course, eight columns. The well-turned head is that which above all else tells the most, gives the most of the unique details. But a pica measure has never yet been stretched. The story to be told by the head must be told within the prefixed limits allowed for the headline—that much and no more—and American newspaper readers are notorious for confining a large amount of their news reading to these predigested summaries. And still another factor which contributes heavily to the false impression that all is well within the house of the Fourth Estate, that our principal instrument for the communication of news is unchanging, is the same yesterday, today, tomorrow and forever, is to be found implicit in the inclusiveness of modern news coverage. If your favorite but, of course, unknown newspaper editor is giving you all the news that's fit to print, in a font that surely hasn't been changed in ten years, he is in reality giving you flashlights every twenty-four hours of changing human nature! Yet today behind this falsely calm facade of Bodoni Bold, Ultra Bodoni and Extra Condensed Title Gothic a revolution rages.

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A New York newspaper legend has it that when on the night of April 10, 1912, the greatest tragedy of modern maritime history occurred in the North Atlantic every first string ship news reporter was on a steamer junket in the southern hemisphere. A shock as profound and as disturbing as that which went along the keel of the Titanic at 11:40 on that night has just befallen American journalism. A long-range and remarkably accurate warning of that approaching event was given in the June, 1933, issue of NEW OUTLOOK by Allen Raymond in an article entitled, "The Coming Fight Over News." The frequently delayed struggle between newspapers and radio over the gathering and dissemination of news reports broke within a month of the making of that prediction. Within the succeeding six-month period the underground fight had become so intense and so bitter, and radio, at least in the case of one chain, had proven so well its steel, that a group of eastern newspaper publishers went on their knees to the leaders of the American electrical industry, indirect controllers of the destiny of the telephone, telegraph and radio, to make peace. So unique were their terms, so potent were their arguments concerning future publicity (or the lack of it) for the lusty infant industry of radio, that first one radio chain, and then the next largest, through the force of a different set of arguments, agreed to give up the ghost of news on the air—station-sponsored, chain-gathered—in exchange for two "canned," five-minute, daily broadcasts made up of news flashes to be supplied by the principal gathering agencies of the newspapers.

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A beginning of practical, independent news gathering and distribution by the radio chains was long delayed by the newspapers with the threat that the first overt act of trespass by the handlers of the Marconi toy upon the market of newspapers would be met with a ruthless tearing out of the daily press of all radio programs. The threat had been put up frequently enough in resolution form at the annual conventions of the American Newspaper Publishers Association. None, either in the radio or in the publishing field, seemed aware of the fact that in this matter the publishers had a mean bear by the tail. It should have been plain enough, however, because for several years the free printing of radio programs by newspapers had conclusively shown increased reader interest, if not actual circulation, for the newspapers. It was a service which the news readers of America expected and demanded. Until the actual opening of the news war early last summer, when Columbia undertook to build up its own news gathering organization, both in this country and abroad, some radio stations had begun tentative experiments in the distribution of news, their right of possession of which was often dubious, to say the least.

Both Columbia and National, however, were able to demonstrate in extremely short order that they were quite capable of finding and gathering their own news. That was Shock Number One. Shock Number Two was the actual proving that news is a perishable commodity, that it quickly stales and dies, that in fact a twice-told tale is no news at all. In exchange for the questionable favor of keeping radio programs in the daily press, free of charge, every broadcaster handling news broadcasts was carefully instructed to wind up his little spiel with the admonition to read "your daily newspaper for complete details of these news announcements." In exchange for that little favor a careful search of the radio program columns in the press would disclose your favorite air newscast listed modestly in many cases as "Current Events."

It is an inviolable tradition of the American press that news about newspapers is not news, is seldom if ever printed. The radio chains, for some unknown reason, chose to adopt the selfsame procedure rule. The American public was kept completely in the dark as to the crucial and final stages of the fight which has ended, temporarily at least, in the banishment of news from the air. One station, a small but fighting one on the Pacific Coast, which was participating in the Columbia network news service, however, carried its fight to its audience of nightly listeners

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with the result that the local and New York offices were deluged with a flood of letter and telegram protests. And if the volume of protesting mail which has come since the substitution of the weak, committee-controlled flashes is any criterion, the compromise substitute is not being enthusiastically received by the American radio public.

Anyway the truce has been made under a hard agreement. But the very hardness seems to contain pertinent proof that it is after all merely a truce. The radio people have demonstrated to their own satisfaction that in the matter of speed in distributing news the microphone has the printing press beaten. It is being freely predicted that within six months, or a year and a half at most, the battle will be resumed—along new lines. When that occurs it is likely that the radio chains will have a new and powerful weapon at hand in the form of a perfected short wave service for speedy overhead inter-station communication to and from their news sources.

But the agreement, be it good or bad, to a truce, be it long or short, is proof of a kind of the power of the press to over-ride opposition of any or all poachers upon its domain. But there are other clouds over and above the Mergenthalers and the men who own and run them for a profit on a two-cent history of what the world was doing yesterday.

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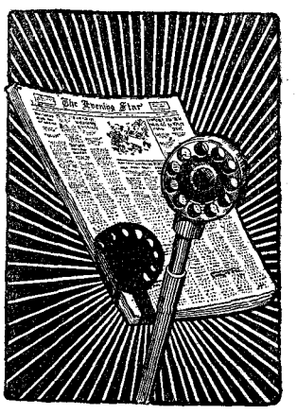
First among these stands the recent coalescence, in practical form, of the threat of the editorial workers of America to organize for their mutual benefit and for the enforcement of the right of collective bargaining. The impetus for this has come from the NRA and the recently adopted newspaper code. The publishers lost an initial skirmish in the drawing of the code when they attempted to have all writers and reporters classed as "professionals." It was a rather tardy recognition and did not go down. Encouraged by General Johnson the newspaper men have begun city unit organizations of newspaper guilds. One of the principal objectives in the fight was achievement of the five-day week. Some publishers have parried this thrust with a plea that it is economically ruinous. A counter-attack is now in preparation in the form of a survey of the economic status of the American newspaper editorial employees, under the direction of the American Guild of Newspaper Workers, which it seems likely will reveal appalling conditions among a highly respected class of American workers.

On another front the proprietors of the American press are embattled with the proponents of the Federal Child Labor Amendment. Here the employers of an army of modern Horatio Alger heroes appear to be on somewhat safer ground, fortified as they are with an answering argument which, in the matter of sentiment, appears as potent as any used by the advocates of the new proposed Federal legislation.

But if these are the larger current concerns of the proprietors and managers of the nation's newspapers, they have not as yet been as important contributors to change as have certain minor, sub-surface trends and tendencies of the news offices. The studying of some of these provides justification at least to speculate as to whether our standard news dispensing establishment has not over-reached itself in the matter of minutia in human peccadilos and foibles. The speed of news production, the ingenuity of its gathering, the over-simplification of its presentation, has produced a garnering machine which frequently misses the larger issues of modern life, the really fundamental changes in the thought and interest of the masses. It would be impossible to estimate the number of thousands of words which the American newspapers finally served up a year ago on the esoteric subject of technocracy. But the facts are that it did not do this as the accepted, first-line purveyor of what is new, but at the insistent demand of its customers. In this respect, the daily press of America, its maw set for high speed gobbling, took the subject as a twice-chewed morsel from the monthly periodicals. The claim cannot be fairly denied that the New York press gave the original report of this group of Columbia University engineers, professors and their extra-academic collaborators. It did this in routine fashion on one Sunday in August, and the social significance of what had been handled was completely lost on junior news editors, so completely lost that on the succeeding day, instead of following up on the story, they sent their reporters to the zoo and to the aquarium for the customary space-filling, manufactured news of Sunday's activities for Monday's serving.

The record increase in the number of regular, columnar commentary features in the American press may be an unconscious attempt to provide regular reportage upon those larger movements and glacier changes in American life which cannot be fitted into the standardized form of American news reporting. But the gentlemen who lazily fill these extra-editorial posts soon become syndicate audience-conscious, and grow to think of themselves as national rather than local oracles. They become, through the years, dispensers of universal trivia, self-assumed experts on all subjects, masters of none. Makeup editors in individual cities, called upon to fit this material into the distinctive style of the local paper, cut it and place it according to the local requirements by the guessed-at content of local interest. In New York, Heywood Broun is front page second section stuff. In Cleveland, he is all the way down to here! As far as building material is concerned the syndicated comics are the only real cement in the structure of a standard national press.

But the banishment of child labor, the threat of the radio, the threat to organize by the decidedly disorganized American editorial workers, are as nothing in this choice assortment of headaches currently being suffered by the newspaper publishers when compared to what is being called "the threat to the freedom of the press." Or at least so it would seem if one listens to the publishers themselves. The public has been bothered almost not at all by the proprietors of the daily press with accounts of their troubles with radio competition, the abolition of child labor, the Newspaper Guild. But a great deal has been written, aye, and printed too, about the present threat to a free press.



There is need to study and test the justification for this complaint from several angles. Under admitted dictatorships in Italy, Russia and Germany, the abolition of free speech has become indeed an appalling reality. In a state of change—or as yet not

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completely disclosed state of transition of some kind for the newspapers, with the recent painful demonstration that the printing press is no longer without a rival in the distribution of news—it is however possible that the publishers are merely in good voice and excellent practice in crying, "Wolf!"

There has been no clearly defined gesture ruthlessly to take this basic right from the press. The President has, on several occasions, protested that he welcomes criticism. Yet opposed to this protestation there is other pertinent evidence of a decidedly disturbing nature. First, there is the astounding demonstration of a willingness on the part of the elected legislative representatives of the people to give an overwhelmingly popular President anything he asks for. What if the White House leader suddenly should decide that the silence of all critics is essential to the final drive for the success of his Recovery Program? Remember, the Federal-controlled radio system is always at hand to continue the public service of news distribution, and likely to do a better job than was the handicapped Army Air Corps in the matter of air mail distribution when the government summarily banished the private air mail carriers.

But even more than this it must be borne in mind that an actual attempt was made by the government code carpenters to build a licensing clause into the newspaper code. The fight to prevent that delayed the final adoption of this code for nearly eight months, and its signing with a specific clause guaranteeing continuance of free speech was approved by the President with the curt comment of "surplusage."

Failing in the matter of putting over a licensing clause, the New Dealers have been accused of seeking to gain their desired end of a throttled press through the instrument of the so called Tugwell Bill, which would control and maintain a censorship over food, drug and cosmetic advertising.

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These moves and gestures having been considered for what they may be worth, the question may be asked, has America still got a free press?

And the question without qualification and explanations is absolutely unanswerable. America, however, has as President a man who enjoys popular support and a popularity unknown to any of his predecessors. Seek for the complete antithesis of this in the American mind and American heart and what do we find? The answer here is easy. The dictator of Germany. Now we may inquire why the people of the United States feel as they do concerning this strange, and far-off, little Napoleon. There are those so naive as to complain that the painting of Hitler, as he has been painted in the American press, is due entirely to orders through the business offices of the New York press from a small handful of influential merchants of the Jewish race who chance to be large advertisers. But if this absurd assumption were correct all the gold in Gotham could not have bought the dark pigments with which the "official" American portrait of Hitler has been painted free of charge. Who painted that picture? Why the American foreign press corps in Berlin, of course. Capable and competent practitioners as these gentlemen are, it is doubtful if all of them are profoundly concerned over the rise of anti-Semitism, decidedly questionable if they are such sufficiently deep students of the theory of Pareto as to desire to save the world from its newest form of Fascism. Who are they then? They are nothing less, certainly, than a group of daily workers who detest having their day's work made any harder than necessary, who were suddenly and personally affronted when called upon to work under the burden of the strictest type of censorship, upon whose writing fingers Herr Hitler made the gigantic error of stepping in the most ruthless Teutonic fashion. If there had been even less raw material to work with than was given these personally outraged gentlemen, it is certainly debatable if the tones of the picture which they painted would have carried any rosier tints than it does. An all-time record for journalistic zeal in getting out the bad news stands on the books today to the account of the Berlin gang. The moral would seem to be: never cross a working newspaper man; never kick his pal in the teeth unless it is absolutely unavoidable.

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And now what of the press gang in Washington? The members of that group meet the President twice a week. Many of the "regulars" have been covering Mr. Roosevelt's activities for years. He knows a large number of them well. Not a few of them have been his guests at Hyde Park picnics. He has done everything to make their coverage of the White House as easy and as enjoyable as possible. The friendly relationship which President Roosevelt enjoys with the press is absolutely without precedent in the White House. He talks to and with the members of the Washington press corps, largely confidentially and off the record, in a manner which would have appalled most of his predecessors. A deep Machiavellian plot to kill criticism with kindness? Not at all. It is unquestionably sincere and genuine, but of course it has its effect.

But is the ultimate result censorship by strategy? The answer here is once again negative. The blanket charge cannot be made that the Washington correspondents check their critical faculties at the White House Executive door. A few of them, most of these veterans, are dyed-in-the-wool opponents (in personal belief, of course) of the New Deal. Just don't think it will work. And, for a time, all of them conscientiously telegraphed home whatever morsel of factual proof of this they saw, or were privy to.

But none of this, at least until quite recently, ever saw the light of print.

Then there is a censorship in America today? If the answer here is affirmative, and it would seem to be, where is it? Who is applying it? Not the members of the working press, certainly not the publishers, disgruntled as they are as a business group. Not probably as yet the Federal government. Who then?

And the answer comes most logically by the process of elimination. The abolition of the right to free speech is being imposed upon the American people today by the people themselves and by the simple and powerful economic weapon of withholding their matutinal two cents, their eventide three, from any and all daily publications which presume to criticize their popular leader. The fact that that force has, and is being, applied, is clearly demonstrable. It is threatening the very existence today of not a few great daily organs, which are opposed to the Administration either from traditional party loyalty or out of absolute, unbiased conviction.

There is little which can be factored out of the present difficult situation in which the American press finds itself today which can be made to serve as a bulwark in this emergency.

There is no single, great national newspaper possessing

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wide spread, instantaneous distribution before the essential commodity news has staled. Such a publication, if it existed, conceivably would cut across geographic, sectional and political lines. Its voice as representative of all sections, would be sufficient to command attention, to have its warnings heeded *nationally*. Our local "Thunderers" if we have them have dropped to mere party "whisperers" under the threat of economic annihilation. The structure of a national press in an hour of need seems to consist solely of Mutt and Jeff and Andy Gump, Advice to the Lovelorn, and little else. The chief editorial writer of one of America's leading Republican newspapers, confessing the disinclination of the mass to listen to any criticism on national affairs, asserts that the present out of a lifetime of newspaper work is the most difficult time in which to put together an "acceptable" editorial page.

The editorial page of the American newspaper once was the exclusive domain for the expression of any opinion on the news appearing in the papers. The distinct achievement of American reporting was the complete elimination of all "editorilizing opinion" from the news columns. The news columns were for facts, the correct facts and nothing else. Opinion—one time—was the sole prerogative of those who wrote for the Editorial Page. Gradually part title to this right was conceded to the special columnar feature writers mentioned before. Sometimes this was given with the expressly printed, sometimes merely implied condition that *"the opinions expressed in this column are not necessarily those of the publisher."*

This pandering to the popularity of a special feature writer, it cannot be denied, has weakened that all-powerful, omiscient, super-personality which is the newspaper. But an even more pertinent and unique redistribution of the power of editorial comment has occurred in recent years in a great many American newspapers. It has not been given to the reporter, but it has, in many instances, been given to the make-up editors, who are responsible for the placing of stories in the paper and for determining their length. It began in many cases in the bitter political fights of recent years: the playing up of the favorable news of the favored candidate, and the same for the unfavorable news of the paper's opponent. A minor thing perhaps, but an important if dangerous precedent to a press establishment which had for so long guaranteed its news columns as being opinionless.

Before the significance of this is lightly dismissed, it must be borne in mind that there was a day when playing fast and loose with the placing of news was frowned upon in most newspaper offices. The sole rule for determining what should be featured was an honest estimate of the news value of the particular item in question. It was a fine rule because it was self-enforced. The departed Titans of newspaperdom would roll and rock in their graves at the manner in which many newspapers of the nation "buried" the now famous and controversial telegram on the air mail situation from Colonel Lindbergh to the White House.

Now it will not be denied that the "playing" and placing of news is the prerogative of the editor and publisher. Not even the motive should be questioned. If day after day a frightened publisher wishes to dress his front page so as to leave the impression that every policy and every experiment of the Administration is booming along at a rate of 100 per cent efficiency that surely is his right. But if tomorrow's inescapable facts prove that such is not exactly 100 per cent true, prove also that a modicum of that truth must have been apparent yesterday, prove further that that front page really was a master editorial in Bodoni Bold or Extra Condensed Title Gothic, then certainly something has been done to the integrity of the press. Such conduct, of course, is most reprehensible where it is done against the sincere and honest belief of those in charge of the press, and solely to cater to a current market for polyannaism—because it's what the readers seemingly want.

The right of the American public so to act cannot be appealed to any court. Presumably it is one of their few remaining inalienable rights. It is one of the astounding economic phenomenon of an astoundingly phenomenal time. But what is here being considered is not the will, the wish or the whim of a confused and depressed people. It is solely the possible fate of the instrument for the communication of news of their daily acts, and they are most certainly on the verge of contributing what may well prove to be the final straw. For in the face of the public's unthinking and unreasoned, purely emotional act, the bulk of the American press proprietors are tempering both their news and their editorial policies. They are doing this in the face of an obviously current situation. What is today one of England's greatest newspapers refused to do just that when Crown and Queen and people went hysterical over fighting the Boers. But the then honest if then perpetually harassed controllers of that great paper respected the trust which the printing press can confer, respected the all-essential timeless impersonality which gives immortality of a kind and the power of super-personality to a newspaper. Three-cent customers who cannot bear the truth are elephantine in their memory of this. . . .

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A Story Time Has Told

Without comment, without malice, for the sake of the record alone, Mr. Angly brings up to date his well known work which Walter Lippmann called the "classic obituary of the Mad Twenties."

By Edward Angly

Franklin D. Roosevelt
1932

NOW the credit of the family depends chiefly on whether that family is living within its income. And this is so of the nation. If the nation is living within its income its credit is good. If in some crisis it lives beyond its income for a year or two it can usually borrow temporarily on reasonable terms. But if, like a spendthrift, it throws discretion to the winds, is willing to make no sacrifice at all in spending, extends its taxing powers to the limit of the people's power to pay and continues to pile up deficits, it is on the road to bankruptcy. For over two years our Federal government has experienced unprecedented deficits.

We find that the expenditure for the business of government in 1927 was $2,187,000,000 and in 1931, $3,168,000,000. That, my friends, represents an increase in actual administrative spending in those four years of approximately $1,000,000,000 or roughly 50 per cent; and that, I may add, is the most reckless and extravagant pace I have been able to discover in the statistical record of any peace time government anywhere, anytime.

Would it not be better to clear this whole subject of obscurity—to present the facts squarely to the Congress and the people of the United States and secure the one sound foundation of permanent economic recovery—a complete and honest balance of the Federal budget? In all earnestness I leave the answer to your common sense and judgment.—*Campaign address at Indianapolis, Oct.* 20, 1932.

I regard reduction in Federal spending as the most important issue of this campaign. In my opinion it is the most direct and effective contribution that government can make to business.

In accordance with this fundamental policy, it is equally necessary to eliminate from Federal budget making during this emergency all new items except such as relate to the direct relief of unemployment.—*Campaign address at Pittsburgh, Oct.* 19, 1932.

I called attention in my address at Pittsburgh to the great importance of Federal budget making as the foundation of the national credit. I pointed out that the Hoover Administration had been responsible for deficit after deficit, that as one disastrous year succeeded another no attempt was made to arrange the finances of the country so that at least the mounting loss of revenue might not be turned into a deficit for the next year. It is my pledge and my promise that this dangerous kind of financing shall be stopped and that rigid governmental economy shall be forced by a stern and unremitting administration policy of living within our income.—*Campaign address at St. Louis, Oct.* 21, 1932.

Franklin D. Roosevelt
1934

Let me put it another way: the excess of expenditures over receipts during this fiscal year amounts to $7,000,000,000. *My estimates for the coming fiscal year show an excess of expenditures over receipts of* $2,000,000,000. *We should plan to have a definitely balanced budget for the third year of recovery, and from that time on seek a continuing reduction of the national debt. This excess of expenditures over revenue amounting to over* $9,000,000,000 *during two fiscal years has been rendered necessary to bring the country to a sound condition after the unexampled crisis which we encountered last spring.—Message transmitting the budget to Congress, January* 4, 1934.

In order to make clear to the Congress what our borrowing problem is for the next six months, permit me to remind you that we shall have to borrow approximately $6,000,000,000 *of new money, and, in addition,* $4,000,000,000 *to meet maturities of a like amount.—Message transmitting the budget to Congress, January* 4, 1934.

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The Dollar
1932

The business men of the country, battling hard to maintain their financial solvency and integrity, were told in blunt language in Des Moines, Iowa (by Herbert Hoover), how close an escape the country had some months ago from going off the gold standard. This, as has been clearly shown since, was a libel on the credit of the United States.

No adequate answer has been made to the magnificent phillipic of Senator Glass the other night, in which he showed how unsound was this assertion. And I might add Senator Glass made a devastating challenge that no responsible government would have sold to the country securities payable in gold if it knew that the promise, yes, the covenant embodied in these securities was as dubious as the President of the United States claims it was. Of course, the assertion was unsound. . . .

One of the most commonly repeated misrepresentations by Republican speakers, including the President, has been the claim that the Democratic position with regard to money has not been made sufficiently clear. The President is seeing visions of rubber dollars. This is only a part of his campaign of fear. I am not going to characterize these statements. I merely present the facts.

The Democratic platform specifically declares, "We advocate a sound currency to be preserved at all hazards." That is plain English. In discussing this platform on July 30, I said, "Sound Money is an international necessity; not a domestic consideration for one nation alone." In other words, I want to see sound money in all the world.

Far up in the Northwest at Butte, I repeated the pledge of the platform, saying, "Sound currency must be maintained at all regards."

In Seattle I reaffirmed my attitude on this question. The thing has been said, therefore, in plain English, three times in my speeches. It is stated without qualification in the platform and I have announced my unuqalified acceptance of that platform.

So much for that misrepresentation!

—Campaign speech by Franklin D. Roosevelt, Academy of Music, Brooklyn, N. Y., Nov. 4, 1932.

Centralization
1932

[The Hoover administration] is committed to the idea that we ought to center control of everything in Washington as rapidly as possible. That was the idea that increased government cost by a billion in four years. Now, ever since the time of Thomas Jefferson that has been the exact reverse of the Democratic concept—which is to permit Washington to take from the states nothing more than is necessary to keep abreast of the march of our changing economic situation.—*Campaign address by Franklin D. Roosevelt at Indianapolis, Oct.* 20, 1932.

The Dollar
1933-1934

March 6, 1933.—*The gold standard is suspended internally under trading with the enemy act.*

March 9, 1933.—*Congress prohibits the earmarking of gold for export.*

April 20, 1933.—*Yes, we are off the gold standard.—William H. Woodin, Secretary of the Treasury.*

April 20, 1933.—*I welcome the reported action of the President and the Secretary of the Treasury in placing an embargo on gold exports.—J. P. Morgan.*

Washington, May 2, 1933.—*The Treasury refuses to permit gold to be exported for interest payments on American securities held abroad including government obligations.*

June 3, 1933.—*The Government has ordered the gold clause eliminated from all obligations, both public and private.—News Item.*

Washington, D. C., Jan. 15, 1934.—*President Roosevelt has asked Congress for power to impound all of the gold in the country, to establish a fifty-to-sixty cent dollar, and has requested a two-billion dollar stabilization fund.*

Washington, D. C., Jan. 31, 1934.—*The President signed today the gold reserve bill fixing the value of the dollar at* 59.06 *cents in gold.—News Item.*

This country is on a gold bullion standard with its dollar marked down to fifty-nine cents. It might be termed the 1934 *model of gold standard, with knee action, air-flow, and stream-lined.—Henry Morgenthau, Jr., Secretary of the Treasury.*

Centralization
1934

The lineup of the New Deal in Government for national recovery and relief includes:

AAA, CAB, CCC, CWA, CWS, EHC, EHFA, FACA, FCA, FCT, FDIC, FDLB, FERA, FSRC, HLB, HOLC, NLB, NRA, PWA, RFC, TVA.—From chart printed for the guidance of its readers by the "New York Daily News," February 5, 1934.

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Foreign Affairs
Spring

In the conferences which we have held and are holding with the leaders of other nations, we are seeking four great objectives. First, a general reduction of armaments, and through this the removal of the fear of invasion and armed attack, and, at the same time, a reduction in armament costs, in order to help in the balancing of government budgets and the reduction of taxation. Secondly, a cutting down of the trade barriers, in order to restart the flow of exchange of crops and goods between nations. THIRD, THE SETTING UP OF A STABILIZATION OF CURRENCIES IN ORDER THAT TRADE CAN MAKE CONTRACTS AHEAD. Fourth, the re-establishment of friendly relations and greater confidence between all nations.

Our foreign visitors these last three weeks have responded to these purposes in a very helpful way. All of the nations have suffered alike in this great depression. They have all reached the conclusion that each can best be helped by the common action of all. It is in this spirit that our visitors have met with us and discussed our common problems. The international conference that lies before us must succeed. The future of the world demands it and we have each of us pledged ourselves to the best joint efforts to this end.

—*President Roosevelt in a radio address to the nation, May* 7, 1933.

Here, on the Pacific Coast, another factor has had a destructive effect upon foreign trade. Trade with the Orient has suffered to some extent on account of tariffs, but it has also suffered because of the abnormal depreciation of the buying power of Oriental countries.

It is widely recognized by conservative, enlightened financial leaders, that to remedy this we shall have to look to international action. In line with the plan suggested by the Democratic platform, I shall advocate immediate action by our government in cooperation with other governments; there are many ways of producing the results desired without disturbing the currency of the United States.

In this whole matter of restoration of export trade with all countries, east and west, through the methods that I have outlined, I am absolutely determined that our country shall take the initiative and the leadership.

—*Campaign speech by Franklin D. Roosevelt at Seattle, Sept.* 20, 1932.

The World Economic Conference will meet soon and must come to its conclusions quickly. The world cannot await deliberations long drawn out. The conference must establish order in place of the present chaos by a stabilization of currencies, by freeing the flow of world trade and by international action to raise price levels.

Common sense points out that if any strong nation refuses to join with genuine sincerity in these concerted efforts for political and economic peace, the one at Geneva and the other at London, progress can be obstructed and ultimately blocked. In such event, the civilized world, seeking both forms of peace, will know where the responsibility for failure lies. I urge that no nation assume such a responsibility and that all nations joined in these great conferences translate their professed policies into action. This is the way to political and economic peace.—*President Roosevelt's message to the rulers of* 54 *nations, May* 16, 1933.

Foreign Affairs
Summer

The world will not long be lulled by the specious fallacy of achieving a temporary and probably an artificial stability in foreign exchange on the part of a few large countries only. . . .

Let me be frank in saying that the United States seeks the kind of dollar which a generation hence will have the same purchasing power or debt paying power as the dollar value we hope to attain in the near future. That objective means more to the good of other nations than a fixed ratio for a month or two in terms of the pound or franc. . . . Gold or gold and silver can well continue to be a metallic reserve behind currencies, but this is not the time to dissipate gold reserves. When the world works out concerted policies in the majority of nations to produce balanced budgets and living within their means, then we can properly discuss a better distribution of the world's gold and silver supply to act as a reserve base of national currencies.—Message to the World Economic Conference, July 3, 1933.

London, July 2, 1933.—*President Roosevelt today rejected in its present form the request of Great Britain and the gold bloc nations for the United States to adhere to a joint declaration of the principle that a return to the gold standard should be made as soon as practicable.—News Item.*

London.—No international gathering has ever met a harder blow than that dealt by President Roosevelt to the World Economic Conference today. His firm "No" to the currency proposals made to him has staggered the conference.—Cable dispatch to New York Times, July 3, 1933.

Foreign Affairs
Winter

Careful investigation and constant study prove that in the matter of foreign exchange rates, certain of our sister nations find themselves unable at this time to enter into stabilization discussions based on permanent and world-wide objectives.—President Roosevelt's message to Congress, Jan. 3, 1934.

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Henry Ford on the Old Deal

For myself, if booze ever comes back to the U. S. I am through with manufacturing. I wouldn't be interested in putting automobiles into the hands of a generation soggy with drink.—*Article in Pictorial Review titled "Let Prohibition Begin at Home."—Sept.,* 1929.

Prohibition is the best method that has yet been devised to give effect to the sober sentiment of the nation. We have always had excellent official cooperation in its enforcement.

—*Telegram from Henry Ford to the Methodist Episcopal Church conference, Atlantic City, May* 16, 1932.

No one wants any drinking man to be at the mercy of machinery and no one wants to be at the mercy of any machine in the hands of a drinking man.

—*Henry Ford in article in Colliers' Weekly, July,* 1932.

Herbert Hoover was the best fitted man for the Presidency four years ago and the country recognized it. He was fit then, he is fitter now.—*Statement by Henry Ford, June* 13, 1932.

President Hoover will be elected by an overwhelming vote. There is no doubt about it at all.—*Statement by Henry Ford, Aug.* 27, 1932.

To prevent times from getting worse and to help them to get better, President Hoover must be elected.—*Excerpt from notice posted in Ford plants, Oct.* 18, 1932.

Mr. Hoover is carrying a burden greater than Abraham Lincoln carried. He is carrying it in a way that places him beside Lincoln in sacrificial service. —*Radio address by Henry Ford, Oct.* 19, 1932.

Budget Talk
1933

Washington.—Maintenance of the credit of the U. S. through a balanced budget was pledged in a speech here tonight by Lewis W. Douglas, director of the Budget.

Mr. Douglas declared that happenings of the period culminating with the collapse of the nation's banking structure on March 4 "can be traced directly to the fact that for three long years the U. S. government had been continuously expending billions of dollars in excess of its revenues." Mr. Douglas asserted that the only sure road back to recovery was to "call a definite halt to the policy of spending."—*Associated Press, March* 18, 1933.

"But the aim of the Bureau is more than that of holding the expenditures of permanent operating agencies of the government to the figure which I have just given you ($2,600,000,000). The aim is also to begin to retire the public debt in the fiscal year 1935. Although but a small retirement can be affected it will be the beginning of the end of the increase in the debt. It is now hoped that revenues for the fiscal year 1933 will amount to $3,500,000,000. Subtracting $2,600,000,000 from $3,500,000,000, there remains approximately $1,000,000,000 with which obligations on account of emergency operations, incurred this year, can be liquidated."—*Address delivered by Lewis W. Douglas in Boston, Nov.* 23, 1933.

Henry Ford on the New Deal

Detroit, Jan. 2, 1934.—*Ford Motor Company officials have announced that production schedules have been stepped up ten times since Dec.* 2.—*News Item.*

FORD BIDS FOR TRADE OF BREWING INDUSTRY

His Company's Exhibit of Cars Largest at the Show Here—Record Crowd Attends.

—*Headline, New York Times, Feb.* 23, 1934.

A great thing has occurred among us. We have made a complete turnaround and at last America's face is toward the future. Thanks for that belongs to President Roosevelt. Inauguration Day he turned the ship of state around.—Statement, May 9, 1933.

We have all got to pitch in and do all the business we can to help the President pull the country out of the hole.—Radio address to Ford dealers, Dec. 7, 1933.

Ford Indorses
Recovery Plan
Of Roosevelt
Industrialist Declares He Is
Correcting Own Errors

—*Headline, New York Herald Tribune, March* 7, 1934.

Budget Talk
1934

For the current fiscal year ending June 30, 1934, *the excess of expenditures over receipts will be* $7,309,-068,211.—*From the President's Message transmitting the budget to Congress, Jan.* 4, 1934.

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Atterbury and the Old Deal

Mr. Hoover is in no way responsible for the chaotic economic conditions of the world nor its reaction on our own country. We are slowly recovering the ground we have lost. Industry is picking up, car-loadings are increasing, confidence is being regained and unemployment decreasing. This is being accomplished under the leadership of President Hoover. His program, exercised through various agencies created upon his initiative, is showing good results. If permitted to continue under his guidance, I am convinced it will bring back normal conditions.

Some of our employes have asked me to give them my best judgment as to the wise policy to follow. They are entitled to a straightforward answer. All of our employes are, of course, at liberty to vote as they think best. So far as I am personally concerned, I expect to vote for Mr. Hoover and to work for his reelection. I believe that result to be in the best interest of the country.

—*Statement by W. W. Atterbury, President, Pennsylvania Railroad, Oct.* 18, 1932.

The Vice President-Elect

In accord with the readjustment of the budget of the individual, there appears to be a genuine resolution in Congress and in the State and local governments to reduce expenditures and thereby relieve the taxpayers of their present tremendous burden. To my mind, reduction in public expenditures is of paramount importance in connection with improvement in economic conditions during the coming year.—*New Year's* 1933 *message by John Nance Garner.*

News From Wall Street
1933

A nation's money is unsound when it continually spends much more than it receives in revenue and makes up the difference by using its debts for money —no matter how adroitly. . . .

If you start talking about that (suspending gold payments) you would not have a nickel's worth of gold in the Federal Reserve System day after tomorrow—*Testimony of Bernard M. Baruch before Senate Committee on Economic Conditions, Feb.* 14, 1933.

Rexford Guy Tugwell
1915

We begin to see richness as poorness; we begin to dignify toil;

I have dreamed my great dreams of their passing,

I have gathered my tools and my charts;

My plans are fashioned and practical;

I shall roll up my sleeves—make America over!—*Poem written by Dr. Rexford Guy Tugwell at the age of* 24.

Atterbury and the New Deal

Washington.—The Reconstruction Finance Corporation has authorized a loan of $84,000,000 *to the Pennsylvania Railroad.—News Item, November,* 1933.

I am an enthusiastic believer in the patriotism, the courage and the resourcefulness of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Though a strong Republican in my political affiliations, I have felt and still feel that this is no time for the assertion of political partisanship. It is time for the whole nation to pull together behind the President.—Address by W. W. Atterbury at dinner of Pennsylvania Society, at the Waldorf, New York, December 17, 1933.

The Vice President

Well I ought to make a good prediction once in a while, I've been in Washington now for forty years. . . . But that's all over now. All I do is preside in the Senate and vote when there's a tie—and when is there going to be a tie?—Interview in St. Louis, Mo., Dec. 28, 1933, *by John Nance Garner.*

INFLUX OF GOLD ENDS;
U. S. BUYS 780 MILLIONS.

593 *Millions of It, Mostly From Abroad, Acquired Since Feb.* 1, *Secretary Morgenthau Reveals*

..—Headline, New York Herald Tribune, March 13, 1934.

Rexford Guy Tugwell
1933-1934

I doubt if the half-empty office skyscrapers and the apartment houses and tenements of New York and our other vast cities will ever fill up again.—Radio address, Aug. 4, 1933.

Philadelphia.—The United States may have to withdraw fifty million acres, or one seventh of all its cultivated lands, from production unless the demand for farm products can be increased, Professor Rexford G. Tugwell told the American Farm Economic Association.—New York Times, Dec. 30, 1933.

Already we have disbursed to farmers more than $200,000,000 *in adjustment payments. In* 1934 *we may disburse in adjustment payments as much as* $700,000,000 *more.—Article by Dr. Tugwell in New York Times, Jan.* 14, 1934.

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Prophecy

I believe the upturn will be much more rapid if Hoover is re-elected, because he can continue his program without interruption. . . . The liquor trade can add nothing to the prosperity of the nation, though it can subtract much. They tell us that repeal will create employment, but it can do so only by diverting it from other industries—the soft drink industry, ice cream, radio, automobile, etc.—*Speech by Irving Fisher, Professor Political Economy at Yale, Pittsburgh, Oct.* 25, 1932.

Fulfillment

RADIO CHAIN INCOMES SET DECEMBER RECORD; MOTOR CAR SALES JUMP

—*Newspaper headline, January,* 1934.

The 1926 Price Level In 1926

High wages have made the disparity between farm prices and retail prices very great, and, until adjustment in prices occurs, the only thing for the farmer to do is to buy as little as possible.—*Speech by Professor George F. Warren during "Farmers Week," College of Agriculture, University of Illinois, January* 18, 1926.

The 1926 Price Level In 1934

By cutting the gold content of the dollar we raise prices. By raising prices, it becomes easier for men to pay their debts. . . . The greatest benefit accrues to the homeowner, the farmer and the other debtors, because their debts are fixed in dollars. A great benefit comes to the holder of life insurance, because, while his dollars will be less valuable than these swollen dollars which we had recently, his company will probably remain solvent.—Professor George F. Warren, testifying before the Senate Banking Committee on Jan. 23, 1934.

Professor James Harvey Rogers Spring, 1933

A proposal that the Federal government spend $700,000,000 a month in a comprehensive plan for business revival was made yesterday by James Harvey Rogers—who will submit his plan to the Senate Finance Committee. . . . The money, he said, should be spent in expanding reforestration camps, getting immediate funds to farmers, and holders of farm mortgages, for care of grade camps and other highway projects in every county in every state, and government lending to individuals for the financing of small home building.—*The New York Times, April* 17, 1933.

James Harvey Rogers Autumn, 1933

The public works program has not worked very well. It has unbalanced the budget very badly and it is budget deficiencies that cause inflation, not monetary policies.—Speech to Foreign Policy Association, Cincinnati, Dec. 14, 1933.

Partnership

It is wholly wrong to call the measures that we have taken government control of farming or government control of industry or government control of transportation. It is rather a partnership between government and farming and a partnership between government and industry and a partnership between government and transportation, not a partnership in profits, because the profits would still go to the citizens, but rather a partnership in planning and a partnership to see that the plans are carried out.—*President Roosevelt in radio address to the American people, May* 7, 1933.

Fellowship

We are joined in the fellowship of taking it on the chin.—Raymond Moley in address to Nebraska State Bankers Association, Omaha, November 16, 1933.

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Can 200 Treaties Prevent War?

As the international armament-building race resumes, subtle change occurs throughout the world toward the subject of peace. Mr. Fowler examines the beaver-like work on peace fortifications done in our recent past when it was "smart to be peaceful".

By Cedric Fowler

THE decade of the 20's was the great Conference Era. The enthusiastic world believed that its problems could be met and solved by a handful of experts grouped around the green baize, or seated amiably on a log. Press and liberal opinion supported the belief. Good will mounted to its highest premium, and optimists felt that if only enough of it were shown the world, almost automatically, would move into the pacific millenium.

Rated by sheer numbers, the total of treaties negotiated in this period is astonishing. No previous post-war time has seen the like. Two hasty dynastic alliances were considered enough to keep the peace after the Congress of Vienna. Pre-World War efforts at disarmament or security were negligible. Before 1914, the nations refused to consider peace as a serious subject. The Hague Conference of 1899 resolved that "the restriction of military charges . . . is extremely desirable for the increase of the material and moral welfare of mankind," and repeated the thought in 1907. Nothing else was done about it. But since the last outbreak of international savagery, there have been more than 200 agreements between nations on the subject of security against a second World War. These meetings have taken time, money and energy in sizable quantities—the League of Nations alone has spent over $70,000,000 in the fifteen years of its existence. No estimate can be made of the costs of individually negotiated treaties.

Chief among these treaties are the Covenant of the League, with its provisions for arbitration and judicial settlement, the Geneva Protocol of 1924, the Little Entente agreements, Locarno, the Kellogg-Briand Pact renouncing war as "an instrument of national policy" and the Four Power Pact of 1933. Major disarmament agreements include the Washington Treaty and the 1930 London Treaty. Non-aggression treaties have been signed between most of the smaller and several of the larger powers. Conciliation agreements providing amiable discussion in place of war have been generally adopted throughout Europe and South America. The stage has been well set for peace. But, in reality, how secure is this property barricade which has been thrown up on the world stage and at an inestimable cost of time, effort and money? How secure should any one peace-loving individual feel behind it?

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The evidence for any reason for a feeling of great security is indeed small. Even during the Conference Era which produced these treaties disagreement has occurred. In the past fifteen years, six international wars have been fought—in the sense that organized armies of hostile nations have been engaged. One of them is about to resume its three-year career now, in the Chaco. Scores of punitive and interventionist expeditions have been sent out by the imperialist nations. The most solemn covenants have been disregarded. Territory has been seized, soldiers and civilians have been killed. Nations have not ceased to regard war as the highest expression of national policy. On the contrary, they have placed increasing emphasis on it. Armaments are larger today than they were in 1913. Most significant of all, war talk, war psychology, are as open and pronounced as they were twenty years ago. No government now possesses either the will or the ability to base its authority on peace. The world is again in the familiar mood of military crisis. The conclusion is depressing. Several hundred treaties have not made peace secure. Diplomatic measures to abolish war have not succeeded.

Examination of the main body of post-war treaties yields some clues to this failure. The most important and the most specific of them—the Versailles group—are for the purpose of maintaining a military settlement bound to cause conflict. They are war, not peace, treaties. Moral gestures executed in general treaties—the Kellogg and Four Power Pacts—are vague. They do not actually forbid war. They provide no sanctions against an offending nation. The career of those treaties that do provide sanctions, notably the League Covenant, is discouraging. The sanctions have never been invoked. Disarmament treaties have failed almost completely. No nation has come to a disarmament conference for the purpose of disarming. They have come for the grim purpose of finding out just how much armament the other nations will let them have.

Arbitration treaties present a somewhat more hopeful angle of the diplomatic effort. The League of Nations

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has shown itself an efficient agent of this procedure in settling some twenty-four disputes between nations. Not all of them were critical, but wars are not waged on serious pretexts alone. Treaties of non-aggression are a further hopeful development, but they have not yet been tested between any of the more important nations.

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Economic sanctions in the League Covenant call for trade stoppage with an aggressive nation. So far no country has chosen to apply them, for example, against Japan. Profit has intervened. The United States, while expressing the utmost diplomatic horror at Japan's actions in Manchuria, has not sacrificed its trade for principle. France, most insistent of all the nations on the sanctions in the Covenant, has already extended credits to the new state. England is finding it inconvenient to maintain an aloof attitude, because of trouble with mails. Even Russia, arch foe of imperialism, has been making gestures that indicate connivance, if not actual recognition.

These current contradictions are traceable directly to Versailles. In 1919, the nations faced a dual situation. The bloodiest war in history had exhausted the world, and it wanted peace. But five years of intensive hatred had produced a state of mass hysteria, and sanity could not be recovered the minute the guns stopped firing. The world that had fought Germany wanted revenge and conquest with the peace. Two opposites were demanded from the settlement—security against another war, and victory from the one just ended.

The armistice, obviously, lifted an enormous load of tension. The severity of its terms promised Germany's surrender. But another tension succeeded. Disturbing thoughts of the race's future, laid aside during the struggle, came crowding in. War, while it demands complete absorption during the time it continues, leaves room for serious thinking when it stops. It is exhilirating while it lasts, but leaves an inevitable hangover at the end. Like all drastic stimuli, it exhausts the addict at the same time that it exalts him. Steadily increasing doses—such as the world was taking in the five years' conflict—postpone fatigue, but a point is finally reached where the organism cannot absorb any more.

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This point was reached in 1919. The world was tired of war. The people had borne tremendous burdens with a minimum of complaint. The generals and the statesmen of Versailles knew the people wanted peace. They could not be persuaded to continue fighting—in 1920, the English masses were to prevent a second attack on Russia. To prolong the World War, or to resume it after the Armistice, might easily lead to revolution. And the generals and the statesmen feared Bolshevism more than they loved war.

But this is the nature of hangovers; while they mark the beginning of sobriety, they also contain the remnants of drunkenness. No easy method has yet been invented to separate the two; certainly none came to light at the Paris Conference. The Treaty, consequently, was written in contradictory humors. Military, territorial and financial clauses were in the mood of conquest. Germany was stripped as near to the bone as seemed physically possible. War equipment, colonies, raw material sources and productive plants were taken away bodily. The financial resources that had enabled Germany to fight the world were surrendered as booty to the victors. No figure was considered too fantastic for the punishment of the enemy generations. The punishment was carried to ludicrous extremes, ranging from the billions in reparations to the return of a certain African skull to the British Empire. The obscure French officer who remarked; "Here are all the germs of a just and lasting war" was right—some years ahead of his time. Except for Reds, Bolsheviks and other anarchistic elements, no one agreed with him.

On the other hand, the generals and the statesmen were forced to recognize the demand for a permanent peace. The League of Nations Covenant fulfilled this need. President Wilson was its spokesman. While accepting the militarism of the Treaty, he insisted that the League be included. The war weary emotion supported him. Liberals, peace-lovers, even some of the more moderate radicals, came out of hiding and asserted their feelings—this time without the penalty of jail sentence. The world in contrite mood looked to the Versailles delegates to prove the slogans of the struggle. "The war to end wars" must be made a reality. Peace, security against new wars, disarmament, the end of Prussianism, were to come into the settlement. The League Covenant was the beginning. And, in spite of the essential contradictions in the Treaty, the people believed sincerely that the anti-war millenium was on the way.

The drive for peace continued. The drive for conquest continued with it. The disarmament of Germany was accomplished under Allied supervision. Territorial consolidation was carried out in treaties between the new states created at Versailles. Czecho-Slovakia, Yugo-Slavia and Rumania joined France and Poland to hold their land against a renascence of Germany. These were purely military treaties. Locarno followed—this time a mixture of peace and conquest. Germany, France and Belgium agreed not to attack each other. They also agreed, with guarantees from England and Italy, to preserve the Versailles status. Later Locarno was extended to include non-aggression pacts between Germany, Poland and Czecho-Slovakia, the two countries that had been so largely created at the expense of the central empires. On the pacific side, the Geneva Protocol made the ambitious attempt to declare aggressive war an "international crime," and to provide peaceful settlement for all disputes before the Permanent Court. Economic sanctions—not military—were provided against violations; but none of the powers ratified it.

Locarno, in its non-aggression aspects, and the admission of Germany to the League were the earliest clear attempts at preserving peace in Europe by means of general guarantees. They also marked the beginning of a more conciliatory attitude from the Allied nations. The Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1929 followed in response to the new mood. Here the advance was largely a matter of phrase, in the use of the term "outlawry of war."

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The gesture was entirely moral, but represented at least a psychological progress. Against this gain must be set the interpretation justifying defensive war read into the Pact before its ratification.

The Four Power Pact of 1933 is the latest of this type of general guarantee. Here the promises to peace are even vaguer than before. The powers, recognizing a "state of disquiet" simply agree to consult within the framework of the League for the maintenance of peace. And since Germany has left the League in a burst of Nazi huff, the framework of the League has become distinctly rickety.

Disarmament was one of the first demands of the post-war desire for peace. Here again concessions were outlined in the Versailles Treaty, the Allies promising to follow their prescription to Germany. Comparatively early in the League Covenant a series of stirring resolutions was agreed upon, which not only repeated the desirability of disarmament, but went so far as to suggest means of achieving it. First to act on the suggestion was the United States, though not a League member. The Conference called at Washington in 1921 actually accomplished some limitation. Succeeding conferences have not been so successful. League of Nations Preparatory Commissions have produced exactly nothing. The Geneva Conference of 1927 broke down completely. The 1930 London Treaty scrapped only imaginary ships. It will cost the United States $750,000,000 to build up to its allotted treaty strength. The present Geneva Conference, after almost two years of session, has reached no agreement whatever.

Naval disarmament has been slow enough. All attempts at land disarmament have failed. French and Little Entente insistence on enormous armies has met English and American objections, and has won. Although the nations agreed in the League Covenant to exchange "full and frank information" on their armaments, none of them has yet had the indecency to offer or demand it. No nation knows just what its neighbour has. Consequently each wants as wide a margin as it can afford.

Twenty-five hundred years ago, Aristophanes complained that the manufacturers of bows and arrows made peace impossible between the city states. Limitation of the private arms industry, still a rallying point for pacifists, has not yet been achieved. The League Covenant recommended limitation and control. But largely because of American opposition, neither of the treaties drafted has been accepted by the great powers. We are not yet ready to remove the profit from war.

Demilitarized zones, an aspect of disarmament, have been achieved in several European areas. The Versailles Treaty provided that all fortifications fifty kilometers east of the Rhine, in the Saar Basin, on the island of Heligoland, and at certain points on the Baltic sea, should be destroyed. The Dardanelles and the Bosporus were demilitarized under the Convention of 1923 with Turkey, and after the Greco-Turkish war the frontier forts of both nations were dismantled. As part of the Washington agreement, the United States, Great Britain and Japan agreed not to build more naval bases in the Pacific. The effect has been wholesome, since it makes naval aggression extremely difficult. However, England was allowed to retain the base at Singapore and the United States its base in Hawaii, while rumors of Japanese work on some of the mandated islands have been persistent ever since the increase of tension in the past two or three years. Nations have a double attitude toward treaties. They enter into them in apparent good faith, obey the rules for a while, but in a crisis they take no chances on the other fellow.

Security, disarmament and arbitration are three essentials to peace. The League Covenant provides elaborate machinery for peaceful settlement of disputes. The World Court was established under Article XIII. There followed a series of treaties substituting judicial settlement for war: the Locarno arbitration clauses, the General Act of 1928 and the acceptance of pacific settlement in the Kellogg Pact. In addition, conciliation agreements between most of the countries have been executed on a bi-partite basis. These, however, provide chiefly for delay in the resort to war—not for actual prohibition. There have been some successes under these methods. Corfu, the Chaco, conflict between Greece and Bulgaria, between Peru and Colombia, have been settled by arbitration or conciliation. On the other hand, all attempts at peaceful settlement have failed to stop the war in the Orient, and, after one success, the war between Bolivia and Paraguay.

Bi-partite non-aggression treaties have had a strong vogue, especially in the later post-war years. In the fifteen years since 1919, nearly two hundred of them have been signed. Russia, trying to consolidate its position in the west, has negotiated pacts of this kind with all bordering states, and with several of the more powerful European countries. The Russian treaties are particularly interesting, for they afford the first definition of aggressive war—it is described as any resort to armed invasion, blockade, or encouragement to armed expeditions within friendly borders. Germany has negotiated a treaty with Poland promising to forget about the Corridor for a period of ten years. Italy, Austria and Hungary have agreed to stay outside each other's frontiers—as have Greece and Turkey, and Italy and Russia. Others are still pending. President Roosevelt's latest peace proposal, put forth tentatively last May and repeated last month, urges a general pact of non-aggression among all nations, containing the Russian definition of aggression.

Though the Versailles Treaty was signed and ratified in an atmosphere of blood and iron, part of world opinion at least knew that it would eventually need revision. Here again conciliation was offered in the League Covenant, with a vague resolution for "the reconsideration of treaties . . . which have become inapplicable." The logic of events soon forced the Allied powers to reconsider parts of Versailles. Finally the statesmen were forced to admit that the full cost of the war could not be extracted from Germany, and early in the game reparations began to undergo rational review. In 1933, under the Lausanne Agreement, they were for all practical purposes liquidated. Territorial or military revision has not yet occurred, with the exception of Allied permission to Austria to double its army.

The United States, nominally, was dragged into the World War because of Germany's persistent violation of its rights as a neutral. Freedom of the seas was one of the Fourteen Points. Here the post-war record has been completely blank. The only effect on previous concepts of neutrality has been by implication from the League

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Covenant and the Kellogg Pact. The right of blockade remains, with strong maritime powers still in the position of choosing what they shall regard as contraband. A few gestures towards humanizing submarine warfare have been made, but none effective enough to prevent interference with neutral trade in time of war.

These are the results of fifteen years of work by the diplomats. Pessimists will question the possibility of securing peace by conference. They will point out that treaties, by their very nature, cannot, and will not, prevent war, since in signing a treaty each nation retains its sovereignty essentially unimpaired. One of the basic rights of sovereignty is the right of self-defense. The last few dozen wars, the pessimists add, have always been waged under the excuse of defense. No power admits that it is fighting a war of conquest, and again under sovereignty, each nation constitutes itself sole judge of its actions. International law, therefore, cannot control nations, since it provides neither objective judgment nor effective prevention of international crime.

In part the disillusioned view is correct. Treaties between equal powers depend for their enforcement on public opinion. During the past decade and a half, public opinion was against war—or at least vocal public opinion was. Lately there has been a pronounced shift. The pacifist faction is going into hiding again, pushed out of authority by rising nationalism. The cult of peace has faded to a mere shadow of its first post-war strength. With it has faded the strength and efficiency of anti-war agreements.

This decay of world sentiment for peace has occurred chiefly since the economic crisis. Before 1930, goodwill was much easier come by than it is now; somehow poverty poisons the milk. Depression has always stimulated nationalism. Social restlessness, if exploited along reactionary lines, turns into international restlessness. This exploitation has been done in Europe. Half the people there are being taught to blame their difficulties on some enemy, real or imaginary. This is one of several tricks of dictatorship that do not make for peace. The League of Nations, for example, is definitely losing in its encounter with Fascism. Germany has resigned. Italy threatens to retire, unless certain fantastic conditions are met. Japan, under a reactionary regime, has also withdrawn. Even France, preoccupied with political struggle, has become lukewarm in League support.

In addition to psychological considerations, material conditions leading to war have increased enormously since 1930. Greatly augmented trade restrictions have sharpened the struggle for markets beyond any previous degree. Currency battles, aiming at the destruction of what little foreign trade a rival has left, seem like a rehearsal for more overt conflict. Economic self-sufficiency does not ignore the need for exports. It tries desperately to shut out imports, while carrying on the economic battle for foreign sales. Our own attempts to dispose of surpluses are evidence of this one-sided character. International finance, at present emotionally despised, has created a creditor-debtor impasse that makes for conflict. The Allies caused sufficient bad feeling when they defaulted on their public debts. Germany is creating even more by a transparent default on its private obligations. Holders of foreign bonds have exerted pressure on their government's foreign policy before. Their influence has every opportunity today. And a quick war, with indemnities at the end of it for the victor, is one way out for a nation heavily in debt.

Treaties and proposals for peace must meet changing economic situations. The present series was written in a period of comparative prosperity. It is being tested now in a period of decline. War is an economic and social phenomenon. It happens when material conditions press particularly hard on the nations. The finest formula, conceived in whatever spirit of good will, is not enough to sustain the pressure. War suggests itself in too many ways as a solution for social difficulties. It is the most efficient device for consumption yet invented. Embarrassing surpluses melt away when the army and the navy are turned loose on them. Unemployment vanishes. War puts a value on men that they cannot claim in peace time. It offers them economic and social security, makes each individual a full participating member in society. Few men really believe they will be killed in battle, and consequently most of them are willing to go.

Social crisis leading to revolution also creates the atmosphere and the material of war. In Europe today, revolution is working out in Fascism—a situation particularly acute for peace. Fascism achieves power by the use of large masses of men, armed and trained in military fashion. At first the pretext is that these armies are necessary for the suppression of domestic enemies. But after the domestic enemies are defeated, the storm troopers remain armed. They continue to drill, no longer against internal rivals, but against other forces outside their own borders. And Fascism, since it cannot rehabilitate its armies in normal civilian life, must use them for war, if only to prevent revolt within the ranks. After all, murder and other forms of liquidating radicals and Jews are not enough. They will neither give economic security to the storm troopers nor wholly satisfy their long induced desire for battle. They must eventually be given stronger meat, or they will turn on the leaders who have organized them.

Under present social and economic conditions, the illusion that war is desirable remains. Part of the illusion can be traced to profit, for war still pays the right parties. It pays the munitions makers. It pays the stockholders in steel and other essential war industries. A factory that cannot make money in rayon can make it in guncotton. The demand for those profits over-rides all standards of diplomacy, of goodwill, of humanity. And the people who secure the profit from war have not changed. The international armament firms are as busy as ever before, supplying their own governments, selling to foreign powers, propagandizing for war among potential enemies.

The people who do the fighting and who pay for the dividends have forgotten that the profits of war are not for them. The lessons of the last outbreak have been laid aside, in the newer impact of depression and violent political change. Unfortunately, neither European nor American leadership is attempting to remind the people of those lessons. A decade of treaties and international resolutions has not taught them. Until they learn, the conditions of war and war itself will recur.

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The Ayes Have It!

What is the meaning and possible effect of legislative rule without opposition? Mr. Sokolsky, a frequent contributor to NEW OUTLOOK, examines the recorded evidence of the disappearance of opposition in Congress.

By George E. Sokolsky

"*MANY things have been done by the Congress, many acts have been passed, but in their effect and their contribution to our civilization and to our progress in the direction of the long-sought relief, none of them can compare with the great factor of faith of the masses that constitute the Republic in the man whom they elevated as their chosen instrument, their vindicator, and their deliverer, the President. I do not think it would become us to distrust him when we know that there is not one of us here whose constitutents trust him with half the faith they trust the President.*

"It was said of old time, by the prophet Isaiah, in a time of great distress 'a man should be as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land.' It always has been so, Mr. President. The masses of mankind never have looked to groups, and never have looked to mass meetings, and never have looked to marshalled hosts. By some means that we cannot fathom, down in their hearts they have a sense of faith and trust, and they place themselves in the hands of one whom they can trust, and they rest as the weary traveler in the sunburned desert as in the shadow of the great rock."

Thus spoke Senator Josiah W. Bailey and he spoke truthfully of President Roosevelt's popularity. Since Christmas public opinion in the United States has been mobilized solidly in support of the President—so solidly that he faces Congress mightier than both Houses combined, mightier than any political party. The next Congress will be elected on this platform: Were you with or against the President?

This astonishing political achievement is a direct result of the CWA and the AAA checks; it is an indirect response to the American faith in a man of action. No matter what may happen to the United States as a result of the Roosevelt Administration, it is possible at this moment to record the phenomenon that with startling rapidity a nation in despair turns to its President with what appears to be a united front.

As satisfactory as this achievement may be to the President and to his party, it contains elements of danger to the fundamental political structure of the United States. This is a constitutional country based upon a theory of a division of authority with equal emphasis among the Executive, Legislative and Judicial. In the selection of both the Executive and Legislative this country, from the very beginning, has adhered to a two-party system, pursuing a course traditional in Anglo-Saxon countries. The party in opposition is expected, in such a political system, to force a public debate of all measures involving principle, that the populace may be informed with regard to the minutia of legislation and the government is required to defend its policies in advance and its conduct in the future. In the older oratory, this system was termed the "palladium of our liberties."

It is true that since the 1896 campaign the two political parties in the United States have been steadily losing their specific characteristics—no longer is there an issue such as slavery, or sound money, or the protective tariff to keep them apart. Whatever issues move the political minds of the United States overlap parties, so that it is altogether possible for a Republican like Senator Johnson to be a follower of a Democratic President and a Democrat like Senator Glass to be an opponent of a Democratic President. When a vote is actually taken on most measures, Republicans and Democrats are found in both the "aye" and "nay" column irrespective either of party platform or tradition.

This is no new political phenomenon of the Roosevelt Administration. It has only been accelerated by the popularity of the President, his use of the radio and the fear of the Congressmen and Senators that they may not be re-elected if they oppose him, for after all 4,000,000 CWA check gatherers represent probably an identical number of votes. In all administrations since the first Roosevelt party lines have not impeded Congressmen and Senators from voting with the other side. But in the current administration, a clear and definite effort is being made to wipe out party lines altogether.

Opposition to any measure of the New Deal, no matter whether it be principle or detail, is taken to be direct criticism of the President not only by his associates and followers but by most of the people. There is no censorship of the press as forceful as this voluntary insistence upon a united front in support of the President. There is no coercion of public opinion so powerful as this rejection of the constitutional right to criticize the workings of political agencies.

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Yet, no one, surely not President Roosevelt, would support the idea of a one-party system in the United States, of the continued spectacle of legislation being passed unexamined, unexplained, undebated. Congressman Luce of New York put the issue squarely when he said in the debate on the Money Bill:

"Reserving the right to object, not to criticize or oppose, but in order to acquaint certain citizens of the country with the result of the expression of views on the part of the minority when the bill was under consideration. These citizens believe that there should be no criticism of anything the President may propose. Here is a striking instance of the value of the minority, whose function and whose duty it is to criticize. We did not secure all we wished, but in one important particular evidently the President was persuaded to recommend or permit a change. So many of our citizens these days believe that there should be no opposition on the part of the minority it ought to be called to their attention that the minority here is usefully functioning and that in every two-party system of government there ought to be a critical minority bent on improving where it can the measures that the majority presents."

In the same debate, Mr. McFadden of Pennsylvania said:

". . . These amendments are of the gravest importance. I am interested to know whether or not the majority is going to give the minority any explanation or attempted explanation of the important provisions of these amendments, or are we going to pass them without any record being made or any explanation to the minority or the country by the majority?"

Subsequently there was a debate. Mr. Somers, who was managing the Bill in the House, tried to explain it, and the ensuing discussion between himself and Mr. McFadden is of value because it clarified a point:

"(Mr. McFadden.) Mr. Speaker, the explanation is about as clear as mud. I do not accept it as an explanation in detail of these important amendments, though I presume it is all of the explanation that we are going to get. In connection with the amendments that are offered, will the gentleman state whether these gold certificates which are supposed to be issued by the Secretary of the Treasury and given to the Federal Reserve are actually redeemable in gold?

"(Mr. Somers of New York.) The gentleman knows very well that this is a system of managed currency. Let us be fair and reasonable. Does the gentleman know of any managed currency that redeems in gold? I do not.

"(Mr. McFadden.) I am asking the gentleman whether these particular gold certificates are redeemable in gold.

"(Mr. Somers of New York.) Of course not, except in the discretion of the Secretary.

"(Mr. McFadden.) Then, what is the use of issuing gold certificates to the Federal Reserve in payment for their gold, when these certificates are not redeemable in gold?

"(Mr. Somers of New York.) To limit their currency issue."

The debate brought forth the facts of the situation; yet what a feeble debate it was! A sound opposition tears a bill apart, provides the public with the spectacle of clear analysis, brings forth the facts of the situation as Mr. McGugin of Kansas did in perhaps the most masterly analysis of the New Deal from the standpoint of the opposition. Yet, Mr. McGugin's address on January 17 was ignored, first because it is an attack on the theory of a united front and secondly because it is an address by a Republican member of the House of Representatives, and the House has ceased to command respect, and Republicans may easily be ignored. The Opposition does not count.

Again in connection with the money bill, Senator Borah protested against speed. He said:

"Mr. President, the hearings upon this bill came to the Members of the Senate late yesterday afternoon, and this morning is the first opportunity I have had to familiarize myself with the hearings. I shall not interpose an objection, but I will ask the Senator to consider the fact that we have had no opportunity whatever to consider this bill as it is now amended, and we have had no opportunity to read the hearings. If the members of the committee desire to go forward for a day or two with the bill while other Senators can familiarize themselves with it, possibly we can get along."

It is true that Senator Fletcher called attention to the facts that the hearings were published day by day, but the fact remained that not until late the day before this discussion were they completed. It is a little difficult to see how any Senator, not a member of the Committee in charge of the bill, could familiarize himself with the results of the hearings in a few hours. Perhaps it will be suggested that I am naive, that no one expects a member of the Senate to be familiar with the facts if he is not a member of a Committee.

Further, it will be said that Congress has become increasingly a machine of committees, that all the thinking and work is done by committees. But that is really the whole point: as long as there is no party in opposition, as long as there is an insistence upon a united front, there need be no debate in the Senate or the House, there need be no detailed consideration of nation questions. It is sufficient that a popular President desires that a measure be passed. We might in such circumstances save the trouble and expenditure of electing Senators and Representatives. We might permit the popular President to appoint them. Of course, what's sauce for the popular President might also be sauce for an unpopular one. And whereas it is the current consensus that Mr. Roosevelt seeks to serve the best interests of the people, another President pursuing the same precedents might utilize unbalanced powers in the interest of self-aggrandizement. The dangers are not of today, but for the permanence of the American form of government. And even if this system is not new, even if it functioned under Hoover and Coolidge as well as Roosevelt, is it not time to consider the possibility of a return to responsible Democracy?

The question of the validity of opposition is the fundamental struggle between Democracy and Fascism. And that issue can no more be ignored than the Depression itself. When Senators Nye and Borah protested against a phase of the NRA, they were offered a job on one of the

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NRA Committees, which they correctly rejected. The function of a member of the Legislature under our system is to legislate; the function of the opposition is to seek for weaknesses, loop-holes, errors of judgment and act, and for dishonesty in administration. When everybody is doing his job in accordance with the Constitution, the Democracy is secure in good government.

It may be argued that the Emergency requires a united front. That may be so. But if the New Deal is a success, we are moving out of the Emergency into what the late President Harding so thoughtlessly called Normalcy. The President seems to feel that that condition will arrive somewhere about May 15, for he is prepared to scuttle the CWA by then. The date does not matter, but the fact does that when "Normalcy" returns, the two-party system shall have disappeared altogether, for the Republican party in the national Legislature has wiped itself out by an unwillingness to assume its role of the opposition.

With the exception of Senators Borah and Robinson of Indiana, who have raised the question of monopolies under the NRA, most of the Republicans have walked over to the Democratic side of the Senate. They have not dared to be in opposition, nor have they dared to declare themselves to be Democrats. They have straddled on all issues, hoping that Mr. Roosevelt would become unpopular so that they might be able to declare themselves. Most of them remember that Mr. Hoover was once a very popular personality and that he slipped. Perhaps Mr. Roosevelt, they reason, will slip; and then they can bellow against him, but now they take no chances because the 1934 election is too close at hand.

Unfortunately for them, if Mr. Roosevelt succeeds in restoring the prosperity of the country, they as Republicans will be out of luck even if they voted with him; if on the other hand, the pendulum should swing and Mr. Roosevelt's popularity should wane, then exactly how can they face their constitutents? What had they done to prevent the New Deal from going too far from constitutional democracy, should that be the case and the issue?

Mr. Ogden Mills, in his Topeka address, spoke up as the leader of the Opposition. He stated a new platform for his party. Unfortunately, many of the items of his program come from the erstwhile Democratic party. In a word, the Opposition remains the opposition: the Republicans and the Democrats swop roles and principles. But Mr. Mills did not state his new principles with adequate fulness. It is not today a question of a high or a low tariff, nor even of protecting incompetent manufacturers to the disadvantage of competent farmers. No party can turn the tide of Rooseveltian popularity on that.

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If Mr. Mills seeks to reliven his party he must go much farther now; he must place it in direct *opposition,* not to the President, but to the New Deal. He must analyze the relationship of the New Deal to the Constitution, to Democracy, to the capitalist system. He must risk his political future on outright conservatism and he must be prepared to defend a conservative position no matter how unpopular he may be at the moment. He must prepare for the swing of the pendulum to the right, and he must recognize the fact that if the pendulum never swings to the right, he and his party are as politically doomed as Lloyd George was when the British pendulum never stopped at the center which he tried to maintain. Opposition to the New Deal cannot stand at the Center, for the New Deal is a central position.

The opposition to the New Deal will not come in Congress until there is opposition outside of Congress, for the American legislator, by and large, represents, on the whole, regions and not principles. There is much to say in favor of regional representation and it is surely supported by the historical development of the United States. Senators were intended, from the very inception of the Union, to represent the states, that is, regions and their particular interests rather than broad, general national political ideologies. But the opposition to the New Deal cannot be regional because the New Deal represents a theory of government and the relationship of the government to the economic life of the country, transcending state lines. The New Deal involves a concentration of national authority very close to Fascistic ideals although the apparatus of Democracy is fully maintained.

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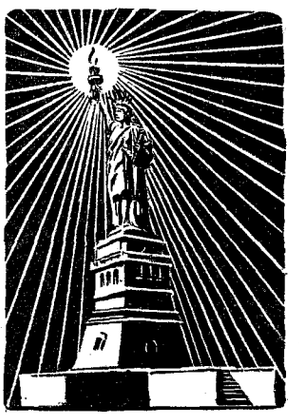
The full accomplishment of the New Deal would be to wipe out the state as a sovereign unit which it happens to be under our Constitution and to make it an administrative district of the national government. As in other countries in which a similar movement away from a strict parliamentary form of government has been made, its initial success depends almost entirely upon the personal popularity of a single individual: in the instance of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt. As long as that personal popularity continues, it is not to be expected that any individual can successfully project himself as a political figure who opposes the New Deal. It is for this reason that most wise men have hopped on the bandwagon even though some, in private, shake their heads dubiously over money and banking and future taxation.

The Opposition then cannot hope for any immediate political rewards. It is rather preparing for the future, that is, either for the next Presidential election or for the one after that. At any rate, it is preparing for the day when Mr. Roosevelt's personal popularity cannot be a factor in the political situation, for he will not have a third term and even he cannot be sure that he will everlastingly maintain his hold on the American people.

From last September to Christmas, his poularity waned; it may wane again. From the standpoint of political realism, the Opposition must assume that in due course it will have a political opportunity to implement its program just as Franklin D. Roosevelt succeeded after three Republican terms to the estate of Woodrow Wilson.

But the Opposition must now have a concrete program. It must offer alternatives. It must be prepared to say exactly what it will do if power came its way. This no Republican so far has offered constructively. Head-shaking and secret denunciations will never convince an electorate which, in a very few months, has become accustomed to being told exactly what the *ideas* are behind each Presidential act.



Even if the people do

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not understand those ideas, even if they are as confused about other measures as they are about money, they want to know what it is about. If one objects to Mr. Roosevelt, one must be specific and clear as to basic principles. Mr. Beck of Philadelphia or Senator Glass of Virginia do speak in clear terms, but most of the Opposition is so careful to avoid the words "Constitution," "Democracy" and "Capitalism," that the people wonder exactly what it is that they oppose and what it is that they have to offer.

If the Republican party fails to develop a conservative opposition whose fundamental policy must be Constitutionalism, then the Opposition will develop from the Left—it will be at first a Socialistic opposition, weak in principle but virile in its statement of the errors of the New Deal; but later it will be absorbed by a Communist opposition, especially if there is no check on the New Deal from the Right during Mr. Roosevelt's first term. During the recent NRA convention in Washington, Mrs. Gifford Pinchot presented the Leftist attitude admirably. It was a clear indication of opposition to an inadequate fulfillment of the socialistic tendencies in the NRA.

Anyone who has travelled the country, as I have this year, must have been surprised at the radicalism of the educated youth. The New Deal is having the specific effect of moving them Leftward, and there is no resistance from the Right. It is now all a pull in a single direction and that direction is toward Communism. Even from the standpoint of the New Deal, a Conservative Opposition based on principle and not on the mere necessity of running a Republican for President in 1936, is an absolute necessity.

If the Republican opposition, instead of taking a stand on Constitutionalism, merely adopts the Democratic platform and points to Mr. Roosevelt's Republicanism, that is, his support of a high tariff and a gold standard and monopolies in industry, they will soon enough find that they have nothing to offer the public and that they are absorbed in the New Deal, as Senator Johnson and other Republicans have already been so absorbed. They will belong to the "One Big Party."

But this is not a "One Big Party" country. Opposition to the New Deal will develop if Mr. Roosevelt wholly succeeds or if he largely fails. If we move out of the Emergency, then the question very naturally arises as to what is to be the future of the country under the Constitution. That will lead to an examination of the changes which the New Deal has made in the fundamentals of government. States will reappraise their relationship to the Federal Government. The Constitution will be the issue of the day. For either the Constitution will have to be adjusted to the New Deal or the New Deal will remain an emergency measure. Yet, it is impossible to assume that the political, economic and social changes initiated by the New Deal can continue to channel life in this country for four or eight years without altering the fundamental law of the land.

Should Mr. Roosevelt not succeed in restoring normal economic conditions in the United States (that is, to every man who wants to work, a job) then he will be the most unpopular President since Andrew Johnson, as unpopular as Herbert Hoover is today.

In either case, the Opposition will be acclaimed only on the basis of its record during the present period of Emergency. Politicians usually base calculations on the shortness of the memory of the public. Therefore they always ignore their own campaign promises. But the situation that will face the Opposition in the event of Mr. Roosevelt's success will be that they agreed to the constructive changes in constitutional procedure during the Emergency; how can they complain?

In the event of his failure, the question will be asked, "Why were you so silent while the failure was in the making?" In either case, there will be lots of explaining to do except on the part of such men as Mr. Mills and Senator Borah who do on occasion talk up. An Opposition which does not oppose has nothing to point to with pride.

The question will quite reasonably be asked by those who accept the United Front as an ideal, why anyone should oppose the President at this time when the country faces so many difficulties.

Many of the President's most enthusiastic supporters disregard the salient characteristic of democratic government that out of debate comes the truth. Because our Congress debates badly is no reason why we should forego debate. In Soviet Russia Stalin can destroy an individual for a Rightist Deviation, but we have not yet accepted the Soviet system of government, nor the system used by Hitler or Mussolini. The Opposition is necessary to test, in advance, the wisdom of each proposal.

For instance, Professor Warren's Commodity Dollar was discarded and Mr. Roosevelt went on the Gold Bullion basis without anyone knowing exactly what he was doing or why, except his personal advisors. Certainly had there been a debate on the Commodity Dollar, it might not perhaps have been necessary to resort to experiments with it. Or even if after the debate it was utilized, there, nevertheless, would have been greater clarity and capital would not have run to cover as it did during the experimental period. The debate, in Congress, is the national safety valve, the assurance of considered, premediated action. It is a check on whim.

There is this further factor to be considered: If all goes well, as it did in the days of Mr. Harding or Mr. Coolidge, the American people tend to forgive everything, even Teapot Dome. But Mr. Hoover's unpopularity must ever be an example of how the people can turn on a President in foul weather.

In all countries, except Great Britain and the United States, unfavorable economic and political conditions have led to revolution. In the United States, we have been free from revolution because the people have become accustomed to parliamentary government. They did not like Mr. Hoover and they voted for Mr. Roosevelt; if they do not care for a Republican Senator, they will vote for a Democrat. But they will vote. They will express their opinions by the ballot. They will not engage in street fighting as the French did two months ago.

A One Big Party parliament is just a convention taking orders from the big chief; it is not a Congress; it does not answer a need for free debate. It is not an historical continuation of the New England town meeting which is the tradition of the American people. If this goes out of existence then we dare not have a foul weather situation, for there will be street fighting as there must be an outlet for human opposition. The very existence of the CWA is witness to the fact that President Roosevelt is fully cognizant of the correctness of this view.

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The New Deal in Our Town

By M. H. Crockett

Leaf-rakers and shovel-leaners—they also are symbols of the New Deal. What it means when the Federal money to support them comes to a town is told from personal observation by a business man in a large, southwestern city

WE are a city of 60,000 people. The city is the state Capital. We are blessed with the State University and an immense pay roll of tax money. It is generally said that our city is by far the most prosperous in the state.

Almost every business man signed the original blanket code, put up the blue eagle with a feeling of fear in his heart that it would wreck him, told his neighbor—confidentially, of course—that he did not believe in the scheme but wanted to go along with the President. Men were afraid that if they did not join the movement they would suffer business and social ostracism. The plan brought in the same psychological background as that of the excommunication, practiced with such deadly effect in the middle centuries. It was as though a hundred hooded horsemen, burning a fiery cross before one's homestead sent in a messenger, inviting the head of the family to become a member of the Klu Klux Klan, or else—.But the movement had the added impetus that every man believed in the sincerity of our President and knew that something must be done. Nobody has questioned the sincerity of the President.

Everybody joined in the New Deal parade. Public meetings were held, the local paper opened a column where a University professor answered all questions, and the housewife pasted a blue eagle on her door.

Down at the Labor Temple, the union carpenters met promptly and voted to get a dollar an hour. Other organized labor followed the same general plan. "Decrease the hours and increase the pay" became the general slogan.

Prices shot up all along the line. The consumer was supposed to hang his head meekly and thank God he was alive with one decision, however, left to him, the right to buy or not to buy. "Organize and dig the consumer all you can" became the dominant philosophy of every group, and it was accepted as a matter of duty to coöperate in the movement.

Milk was advanced from five cents to ten cents a quart, bread, from five to eight cents a loaf, and the bomb of the price raise burst against the battlefront of the Depression on every side, however, with no regard to any natural, orderly, balanced procedure.

The lumber companies, anxious to do their part, with a code-trust pact are holding firm on their aid programme at around 100 per cent advances. A check of our building permits for the last four months of 1932 and 1933 shows that our volume of building for the 1933 period was just about one fourth as much as for the same period in 1932. This means that three-fourths of the work in this line has been killed in a short time. A contractor now asks about the same price for a building that he did at the height of the boom in 1929. And he will tell you that prices will soon advance. Many who had planned to build homes before the NRA have abandoned their plans. Their money will not build a home now, and then they see no reason to build at exorbitant prices. Money lenders are afraid of boom prices. There is not a business building of any consequence under construction in our City.

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We heard that a great avalanche of easy government money was about to slide into our town and overrun everybody with work. Newspapers quoted apparently reliable authorities as saying our quota should run about six million dollars. Washington sent a blanket request covering our state for projects upon which PWA funds might be spent to give men work, urging speed. Our unemployed laborers were jubilant. Our City Council held emergency meetings, day and night, put engineers to work on various data and soon had plans ready to use the full quota supposed to be allotted to us. Our Mayor, his pockets bulging with plans and specifications, went to Washington, ready to do anything possible to expedite the building program. There was no question but what every item in our budget was a worthwhile, needed public improvement, and we were ready to go. At this time, about eight months after our Mayor's visit to Washington, not a dollar of the PWA funds has arrived. If some of the PWA funds do finally come the costs of every project will be about twice as high as before NRA went into effect, with much less employment benefit, and with such general dissatisfaction of taxpayers that they may balk at the load. Many taxpayers are about ready to strike.

However, some months ago a big leaf gathering works got under way. Swarms of men drifted along the river

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bank and through the parks, raking trash, burning leaves and cutting weeds. Officials found some places where ditches could be dug and rock walls could be made with no great harm to the community. Over on the University Campus, near a main thoroughfare, a stack of new wheelbarrows advertises the New Deal. A hundred men have been working there for months, leveling a hillside to make a baseball field. A steam shovel and five trucks could have reduced the cost of this work probably twenty times or more.

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The heavily burdened taxpayer, groaning under his load, drives by this spectacle of waste, and shudders. He is trying to follow the President and believes prosperity is just up the road ahead, but the wheelbarrows hang in his mind and temper his rest. He cannot forget that the taxpayer ultimately pays the government's bills.

There is an economic need in Our Town today for 20,000,000 worth of construction, and yet practically all builders and workers in the building trade are idle except what they do on relief rolls. Codes have put the building game flat on its back with excessive prices.

When the headlines of our newspapers glowed with the announcement, "Government ready to pay 40 cents an hour for thousands of workers in our county," it sounded like a big picnic notice. Nothing like it had ever been heard of in our town.

A charcoal burner from the mountain had been furnishing a merchant in charcoal for years. But he suddenly quit coming. After a while he dropped around to buy a few groceries and explained that he had quit the charcoal business; he could make more *working* for the Government. I asked a farmer how the NRA affected him. He replied, "My hired hand quit to go to town where he could get 40 cents an hour. My pecan gatherers all quit, saying they would not work for less than 40 cents an hour, and when I took my pecans to town the dealer took off a cent and a half a pound, saying, 'Pecan shelling had been raised a cent and a half by the pecan shellers' code'."

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Many of our people have quit the farms, flocked into our city for the 40 cents an hour, and since nearly half of the cotton acreage is held out by the reduction campaign, there is no use for them to try to get back on the farms. The work in the cotton industry will be cut nearly in half and millions thrown out of employment. Our folks hope this is a wise move, but they wonder what all the people will do who are thus forced out of employment. Many of our people wish Egypt, India, and other cotton growing countries had been put on acreage reduction instead of us, so that we could have planted a little more cotton. And they wonder just what the acreage situation is in foreign lands, and how many new farmers our acreage reduction eventually will create over there, and if these newly created foreign farmers won't hang eternally a millstone around the neck of our beloved King Cotton.

According to the wisdom of all our long line of illustrious forefathers, including such men as Lincoln, Franklin, Jefferson and Washington, success depended upon one's willingness to work and save. America has always been held out as a place where a man could work and have a chance to get ahead and save up for old age. But this philosophy of centuries, which is grounded in all our best people is suddenly discarded by the NRA. And we are told that to succeed we must reverse the plan, and that we must believe in the new thought and practice its tenants, quit work and destroy.

For the first time in the history of our town we have idleness by edict of law and are asked to let this edict build up our confidence. The other day a man, needing an extra hand, approached a Negro and asked him if he would like to work. The Negro replied: "No, suh, I belongs to the CWA, I can't work." This is an apt illustration of our labor situation under the New Deal. If a man was working just a few days a week he could get nothing from relief agencies. If he became entirely idle, he could draw $12.00 a week for picking up leaves or digging a ditch part of the week. If he didn't want to work at all he could crank up his car, drift to another town, and be fed and lodged by the Transient Bureau. There are plenty of plausible tales to tell the case workers.

But we realize that there are thousands of honest unemployed, and that people must not starve. We believe our President honest and we try to hope it is all for the best. We read about a young college professor at Washington who pulls a code out of the hat while the old men of the tribe look on dismayed, and we hope the code will work. We hear how General Johnson tells millions of business men they can do this or cannot do that, and we wonder just how this vast power in a dictator's hand can thus operate for the common good. Yet we try somehow to hope against reason that it will work.

Our banks are full of money. From the standpoint of a bank examiner, pressing always for liquidity, our statements are about the best on record. About all of the good, collectible notes have been paid, and the money put into Government bonds, or held idle in bank vaults. Few people who can pay back a loan want any money. There is no incentive to build a house, to buy a farm, to open up a new business. The general business structure has gotten down to mostly a cash basis, with most would-be borrowers unable to give any assurance that they can repay a loan.

Fear and confusion are the general rule among most of our people, although nobody making a speech at the Chamber of Commerce or a dinner club would risk such an expression. It would be too much like declaiming against the 18th Amendment a few years ago. Now if a citizen wants to build a filling station and tries to find out just what the regulations are and what he can do with it after he gets it, or what sort of a lease trade he can make, he looks up the head man on the compliance board. He will be told by this officer that he has hardly had time yet to become very familiar with the situation and will likely advise the citizen to look up the lawyer who is at the head of the code compliance of the city. If there is much information desired this benevolent, public

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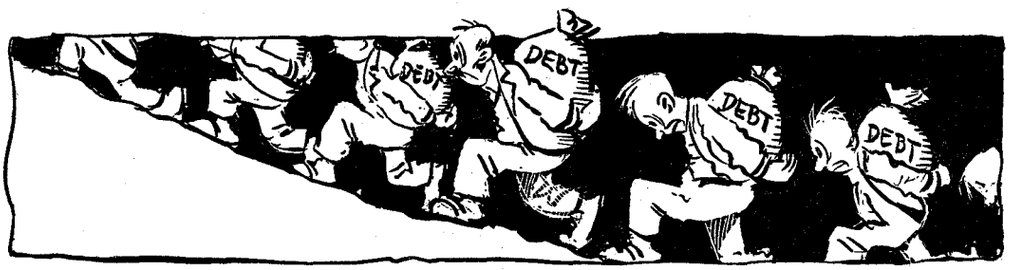
beneficiary will probably be forced to refer the citizen to some state board out of town, with the mild suggestion that by the time the information is received, the code will likely be changed, or a new interpretation placed on it. The riddle of the income tax has been extended to every business; the most accurate uncertainty possible to obtain has been thrown, like a wet blanket, over our entire business structure and every man is struggling to avoid suffocation.

All of this is supposed to inspire the citizen and bring back his confidence. But it is a little hard for the average man to understand. It may be easy to understand for the college professor who has studied Karl Marx and all other authorities about planned economy and the other brands of economy. It may be that some of the college professors can throw a bushel of monkey wrenches into the business machinery of the country and bring out a new pattern of procedure that will far outshine the old. But it is difficult to inspire confidence with the plan.

Many a small business man, laying awake at night, has heard the talons of the eagle on his cottage roof, heard its cries pierce the night air, and felt a heart sickening shudder for the safety of his sleeping children, as he knew that morning would hear this strange dictator demanding that he pay out of his little business more than it could take in. Many a little business man has quietly put the blue eagle in the trash can and learned he could do business without its persuasion or its dictates. It was often a question of deserting the eagle or starving his family, and he heroically stayed by his family. And he calculates it will be a difficult job for any prosecutor to prove to a jury that he is a criminal.

Our taxpayer is not being made confident by the vast expenditure of his funds which he sees on every hand. Most of our citizens are already deep in debt, and have learned that the only way out is by hard work, saving, and paying. How can their confidence be restored by an edict of law to become idle on the one hand, while their government saddles a vast debt upon them on the other hand, a combination of procedure which in their experience, and in all recorded history, has led to ruin.



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The Millstone of Style

By Donald Wilhelm

Style is no longer simply in the clothing industry. The price of style, the new importance of styling in all industry, its possible place in production of the future is discussed by Donald Wilhelm, who contributed "Tomorrow's Gadgets" to a recent issue of NEW OUTLOOK.

TECHNOLOGICAL production is, of course, designed for the economics of abundance.

Technological unemployment is characterized by, but by no means necessarily does it cause, the inability or the unwillingness of people to buy in abundance.

Style is a stimulant not without its uses and abuses. Consider the chorus girl that the late Flo Ziegfeld, specialist in femininity, once displayed on Broadway to an artist, saying: "Isn't she gorgeous! Isn't she beautiful!" To which the artist replied: "Her features are ugly! Her feet are ugly! Her figure isn't up to the brag! She thinks, she feels, she *believes* she's beautiful mainly because she's dressed beautifully! That's it!"

Styling, likewise not without its uses and abuses, is the *couturier,* the handmaid, to style. It can also be, as we shall see, a Frankenstein to those who put it into service; and further, because of the fact that we apparently have had no radical change in the consumer's thinking as the result of the adversities of the Depression concerning this expensive element in the material things which we buy, style must be accepted as a factor of continuing importance and a disturbing element in our production plans of the next NEW ERA.

So with the age-old penchant for style still actively with us and bound up as it is with technological production and technological unemployment let us proceed to—hats!

Here, now, is a woman in Our Town who in better days was accustomed and delighted to pay handsomely for her hats (although, to be sure not so very much for her Empress Eugénie). But here of late, the uses of adversity being what they are, instead of devoting repetitious, delightful hours to the quest of a perfect score in the matter of hats, she found herself in a Fifth Avenue shop selling hats! And there, slightly bemused, one of her first assignments was to mark-up approximately one thousand hats costing approximately two dollars each in such a way that they were to be sold, at prices ranging from $4 to $22.50 each, to bring in a gross income exceeding $6,000.

"Why such a hefty mark-up—of more than 300 per cent—when the average shop and department-store mark-up on women's apparel approximates only 50 per cent?"

"Because," she was assured, "it's worth it—to take the gamble on the curiously unpredictable acts of the human element in the merchandizing as well as the making of hats, to which matter many great minds have given and give ceaseless devotion." And she was told of one of the greatest of these great minds which first manifested symptoms of decay by screaming in the night "Hats! Hats! Hats!" and upon waking averred solemnly to all concerned that the world is a sea of hats, riding choppy waves forever to the horizon! There was, for example, the Eugénie of yesteryear! Women liked it. Women raved about it—for a time. Manufacturers could not produce enough of them. Retailers stocked up heavily with it until, plop!—all of a sudden you couldn't give a Eugénie away. And here, again, of late, thanks to the miracles of modern merchandizing and communication the automobile, fashion magazine and mail-order catalogue, the tiara popped into view, so quickly to be done for that some manufacturers and others were left wondering why the thing was ever started. So they said to their wives or daughters:

"Women are funny!"

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But Percy Anderson, the artist whose paintings, reflected glamorously in hundreds of advertisements, have begun but faintly to make men hat-conscious, tells me that men are funnier! And the despair of hat manufacturers also, because they just will not, in general, acquire hat wardrobes, will not systemmatically suit their hats to the seasons or to their suits or topcoats, will not even accept and in sanctity preserve the upturned brims of off-the-face models! "To men, to most men," he assures me, "a hat is a hat and t'ell with it! Most men don't want to be seen coming out of a store under a new hat. Most of them buy a hat for three or four dollars, and wear it until their wives threaten to burn it!"

Men are, for the most part, simpletons also in the matter of other apparel, including shoes: In the course of a year, a normal year, the average American male acquires 1/2 a hat, 1/10 a pair of dress gloves, less than one pair of "good" shoes and 2/3 of a suit of clothes. In the matter of suits it is enough for the stylists of the major manufacturers to anticipate his slow-and-solid

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antics by meeting in New York twice a year, to swap notes and redesign or rather readjust designs twice a year, to send salesmen out to jobbers and retailers twice a year.

Women, however, are by no means so easy to please.

Largely because they respond, are made to respond, to styling in the matter of footwear, one manufacturer assures me that the life of a feminine pair of shoes is often not more than six weeks. And, thanks again to modern means of communication and to those humming hives of Parisian *couturiers* such as Chanel, Patou, Lanvin, Schiaparelli, Fiormet, Mainbocher and Augustabernard and all their copyists, imitators and an army of designers and workers behind the lines, as it were, women's fashions are not only affairs of the heart and purse but also of numberless manufacturers. Indeed Sidney and Beatrice Webb once calculated that sometimes a rich woman will use—will *consume*—in her garments the whole year's labor of from 100 to 200 workers while, however, leaving textile manufacturers to worry about what textiles will be desired.

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Actually from four to six months are ordinarily required for the economical production and delivery of mill goods. Accordingly, because the fear of style changes is prone to make women and retailers wait until the last possible moment before buying and garment makers must wait on them, a mill aiming to produce style goods in quantity often spends the first half of a period in anticipation of orders *mainly* and the second in feverish, perhaps over-time and in the end perhaps wasteful, effort.

In this arena of apparel, notably women's apparel, styling, oftimes a millstone, round a manufacturer's neck, is in many instances, when he is lucky or established as a leader, his best buckler and shield. But by no means is styling and ceaseless restyling any more the unique concern and responsibility of hat, shoe and garment makers or merchandizers only.

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All of a sudden (in large part we may thank the Depression for it) a new and widely varied classification of additional designers has appeared, ready, willing, even eager to serve anyone who has anything to sell—anything from a container containing a cosmetic to a can containing herrings called sardines, anything from a car, even a trolley car, to a baby carriage or a steam locomotive. As yet they are *not* undertaking to design and redesign buildings, which has long *been* the cherished activity of architects, not a few of whom have also become industrial designers. But, having been artists or stage producers, antiquarians or advertising men, engineers or interior decorators, draughtsmen, yes, and poets, even, they have of a sudden established themselves as a new industry or profession brought into existence by the exigencies of merchandizing the products and services of our technologic era and able, ready, even willing to design or redesign almost anything and everything.

These *couturiers* to industry—for example, Geddes, Dreyfuss, Guild, De Vaulchier, Switzer, Sakier, Kuhler, Rideout, Van Doren, Teague, Jensen, Leonard, Allan, Nash, plus scores serving various companies and advertising agencies anonymously—are, for the most part, on the credit side of the ledger in that they have helped manufacturers to sell goods, in some instances have helped them gorgeously, while creating new or better designs to live with. They have made bathrooms and kitchens, for example, "the best rooms" in the modern home. Here one has contrived a pre-fabricated unit—washstand, towel holders, medicine cabinet and lights—bathtubs with self-contained fixtures and other units which can be purchased in a variety of colors at low cost and be installed at minimum cost. Here another has redesigned a refrigerator after 100,793 housewives had replied to questionnaires asking them for suggestions, yearnings and remarks in the matter of refrigerators. Here, again, after General Motors had sent out more than a million questionnaires to car users, you find them undertaking to apply, in the persons of, or in coöperation with, automotive engineers, the findings in point. Here, too, we have Mr. Bel Geddes advising the Chrysler engineers on streamlining. And we have scales that make it a pleasure to weigh things, skillets that you are now loath even to refer to as frying-pans, washing machines which would have been deemed decorative in the parlors of living-rooms of houses designed in our Dark Ages period of architecture, that period in which our fathers and grandfathers made houses that combined all kinds of architecture while ignoring Colonial, with the skyscraper our only real contribution to architecture.

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These *couturiers* to industry, to tin cans, to saltcellars, to glassware, to clock faces, fountain-pen sets, even railroad trains, are the shock troops of the industrial army expediting obsolescence. They are evangelists, gravely dubious of thrift, preaching the gospel of replenishment, tempting us to conclude that just because our living-room suite was a wedding gift rococoed and articulate with acanthus leaves that is no good reason why we should not buy another, or that just because our office or bedroom is modernistic there is no good reason why we must live with it the rest of our days; that what is bizarre, even fantastic, need *not* be artistic; that, in short, just because a thing is useful it need not be old-fashioned, ugly.

Manufacturers like that! It is logical, even reasonable; besides they've got a mountain range of new gadgets, with more and ever more ready for the making if only they can sell what they've got! They've got to sell! In our profit economy, some people say "lost" economy, they've got to sell or go bust! They don't want to go bust. And, after all, this new trend or twist does have additional considerations.

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In cosmetics, one of our almost depression-proof industries, we find, as in the case of numberless specific and proprietary medicines, that frequently the container and label "selling all," including the stuff in it, actually cost the manufacturer as much or more than the contents itself. By

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no means so often, however, is all that true in the case of foodstuffs, of which we purchased at retail stores a whole 40 per cent less in 1933 than in 1929, disregarding fluctuations in prices along with a hefty increase in population working to offset those fluctuations. This huge loss in gross revenue, the difference between approximately 20 billions and 14, suggests how curiously housewives will in emergencies forego food, or at any rate the best grades of food, in order to buy cosmetics, which in degree at least answer to the lure of style. It has other implications, one of which is reflected in this industry's determination to make packaging, innovated on a large scale by John Arbuckle, more than a generation ago with a machine of his own design, more and more appetizing, tempting and attractive.

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Such packaging or styling in the matter of foodstuffs, however such observers as Scot William McFee insist, handicaps buyer judgment. But unlike styling in other businesses, in itself it costs us as consumers little or nothing in the case of standard commodities at least. Also it has important sanitary and other values.

But in the automobile industry what amounts to styling, albeit it may not have cost us individually much or anything, so highly competitive is this industry, has broken the back of many of the manufacturers of those 800 different makes of cars which have in a generation appeared, only to be cast into the limbo of forgotten things. Year after year this industry has in the illustrative sense at least vied with the *couturiers* of Paris in its aim to please. Year after year each of its remaining units has, in the fall of the year and in many instances at other times, as in the case of The Ford Motor Company and some others, taken time out to complete the prodigious process underlying all changes of style in this field and which is called tooling-up.

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Tooling-up is, of course, in some measure, to the extent that it provides for the embodiment in a motor vehicle of innovations or revisions of existing parts, a necessity. These innovations and revisions are the competitive answer, after all, to each manufacturer's desire to please, in other words to sell cars, buses, taxis, trucks. Dominating the whole picture is each unit's supremely important emphasis on styling. This emphasis is costly and without question to many a manufacturer of cars now out of business it has been ruinous. This tooling-up can cost automobile manufacturers each year, in terms of outlay and interruption, a million dollars and even more. It means as a rule shutting down the plant and halting all assembly. Then begins the casting of dies, the building of each model in wood so that steel dies can be made, the building of each model in clay and before that, an accumulation of days, weeks, months, in the case of some of the 400 main parts of a car perhaps years, of laboratory or other effort. It means, finally, some, perhaps extensive, rearrangement of machines, a deal of unemployment and in short such a burden that one manufacturer recently remarked to the writer, "With what it all costs I could, if it weren't necessary to our way of doing things, afford to give away 5,000 cars a year!"

In the narrow book, or cost-accounting, sense the aggregate expenditures by our automobile industry for tooling-up each year amounts to many millions. In the broader sense, if you could segregate any and all annual expenditures by the industry directly or indirectly energized by styling, the total would represent hundreds of millions and, I think, far, far more than any parallel sum annually spent in answer to the lure of style in women's apparel.

Styling in this huge industry is intimately coupled with, is often identical with and also is often energized or stimulated by, mechanical advances in the cars we buy, —often, but not always. Since 1927 there has been steadily increasing emphasis, for example, on streamlining, yet heretofore, the streamlining of cars has been of little if any intrinsic value, save in terms of styling; indeed there was at least one instance in which a manufacturer so unscientifically reshaped the front fenders on one car that, as wind-tunnel tests later showed, its front wheels when turning at high speed served—inversely, as it were —as turbines, to retard the speed of the car! Scientific, instead of merely stylistic, streamlining is revolutionizing railroad transportation of passengers. It is serving weightily to energize public interest in cars, is expediting obsolescence and making old cars seem older still, is being reflected directly and indirectly in the betterment of cars. But in another five years I feel confident to predict it will not have made cars in general use much faster than they are for the simple reason that I believe we are approaching, if we have not already reached, the practical limits of highway speed for cars in general, for reasons of human psychology rather than for mechanical reasons. It will have operated to make cars enjoyable and safer than they otherwise would have been at nearer their top speed. But five years from now, I think, streamlining will again have become far more important as a matter of styling and therefore of merchandizing than will the mechanics and intrinsic design.

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We demand new styling, naturally enough, in things we are to use for a long time. We demand it also for social reasons. If we drove our homes round on wheels, no doubt we would rebuild or redesign them oftener! We get a fatter dollar's worth, too, when buying a car than when buying most any other considerable item. And so it would seem that styling, in the broad sense in which I am using it just here, has definitely justified itself in the case of the automobile.

On the social side, however, it is wholly conceivable that if we were not addicted to such gay and relentless styling and restyling of cars, there would be more stability of employment in the automobile industry. Careful study of the charts reveals, however, that the curve representing employment is by no means so violent in its antics as the curve representing automobile buying. Also it is obvious that the sum total of employment provided by the industry would be smaller by far if our automobile manufacturers did not so energetically and competitively use styling as their weapon, their buckler and shield. It is permissible at least to speculate as to why, when drafting its code, the industry did not win sanction for a sliding scale of car prices so that, for example, discounts would be provided buyers purchasing cars in slack rather than peak seasons, with *new* style the special premium for the

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seasonal high price. Also I have wondered if, as and how soon we would all be yearning for more styling of the sort we are accustomed to if one unit—or if our government—owned and operated our automobile industry and if, competition having been eliminated, those in the saddle did not give two whoops and one holler about styling! Americans would like it not at all. For it is in us to respond to, in unique measure to insist upon, a sense of change, of movement, of progression in almost everything, no matter the cost.

And styling costs a lot. But within reason it would seem to be worth it!

However, the achievement of "new style" is not always the expensive thing in all trades which it is, and can be, in the automotive industry. Its actual accomplishment is not infrequently a matter of inspiration and simple ingenuity as was the case a few years ago in some of the largest textile plants in New England. A production engineer discovered that by simply loosening one single nut of a machine "mechanical gather" could be produced which gave a cloth into which a thing similar to the French knot was mechanically woven. Fine! Elaborate production plans to this end were made—there was reported a then existing demand for such fabric. Mills were speeded up. Great quantities of the new cloth soon filled the stock rooms, but by the time these new stocks reached the market of the ultimate consumer the style was declared dead and the cloth a drug on the shelves of the retailers.

Production of any and all fabricated materials or objects which rely on styling is simply chockful of dynamite, likely to explode at any time and spatter the manufacturer's books with the finest of red ink.

If a desideratum of the economics of future production is simplification, more and more standardization, it is certainly obvious that in the matter of styling it has not been achieved. The rugged and serious thinking of the Depression has not produced any Spartan determination to ignore style. The producer has not changed. The consumer has not changed.

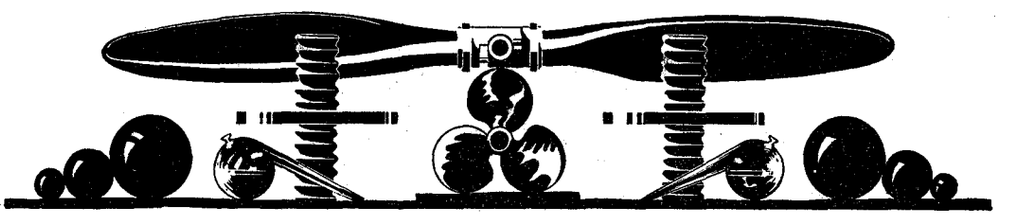
On the part of the producer, as the forces against quick sales became greater and greater, there has been more and more reliance upon style, upon the use of the services of the stylists. This, in the largest measure, accounts for the recent, record increase in the activity in this field. If we are to believe the many reports of technological improvement of production machinery which has been going on, as it were, under wraps, during the Depression, it would seem that tomorrow more than ever will there be a demand for quicker and quicker changes in style as a means of speeding up obsolescence in consumers goods.

During the 19th Century beauty and practicality were divorced, if indeed they ever had affinity for one another. The machine age lugged in with it ugliness—ugly factories, ugly homes, ugly slums, ugly objects galore, including ugly tools and machines of all sorts no matter that, in their use and in their movement, in their shaping and rhythm, tools and machines have a beauty of their own to those who have an eye to see as clearly as Plato saw. Today, however, as we have seen, practicality is being tempered to the end that we shall have neater items, ways and means with which to be and with which to work, items in themselves beautiful enough to make mere contemplation of them what Plato referred to as the first of the "pure pleasures." In a measure in our mechanistics we have come to recognize that in beauty there is often the highest efficiency. Thus many a practical fellow who has all along just taken for granted the symmetry of form and beauty of movement of such items as ship and airplane propellers, springs, roller bearings, machines, objects of glass, instruments, and much else might be amazed by the aesthetic delight which a selection of such common objects nowadays give visitors to the Museum of Modern Art in New York City.

Styling can be "pure pleasure."

It can be, in numberless instances is, an effective device of merchandizing, a concomitant of mass production, of mass employment, in degree a remedy for technological unemployment with other gratifications by no means amiss.

It can be, on the other hand, a Frankenstein—even to shop-girl budgets. In any case it answers to the yen in us for change, for going places, for getting there—and the possible goal is never considered.



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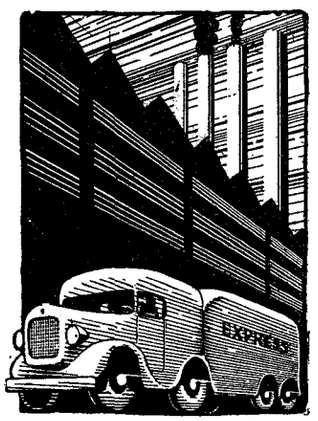
The Consumer Comes of Age

By Henry Carter

The American consumer has at last won recognition as a political entity. The fight has just begun. Mr. Carter tells of the personalities and agencies of the New Deal which are for, and against, the consumer.

WHETHER the New Deal fairly can be considered as revolutionary depends upon the point of view, as well as upon the ultimate outcome of the economic and political change which is taking place. On the surface, the New Deal has proceeded mainly within the limits of the law and the Constitution, and to that extent can avoid the technical stigma of revolution. However, behind it has been a change in the less trammelled field of thought, of political and economic viewpoint, which may become so far-reaching as to merit the revolutionary appellation. Of this not the least significant feature has been the growing recognition of a consumer interest in industry, as distinct from the interest of capital and of labor, and the birth, after much travail, of the consumer as a political entity.

The collapse of the economic structure of the United States, and of the rest of the world, four years ago and the subsequent depression, in which people starved in the midst of an over production of food products and went cold and unclad in the presence of an industrial machine of unlimited productivity, marked the end of an epoch. The industrial revolution which had begun at the end of the 18th Century had at last run its course and prepared the stage for a new era in which much of the economic theory and philosophy of the past was as out of date and inapplicable as the doctrine of the divine right of kings. We passed in effect from an economy of scarcity to one of abundance, and in solving the problem of production through the use of machinery and power we had found on our hands the greater and more difficult problems of distribution and consumption, toward the solution of which the history and experience of the past offered no adequate guide.



For four years past the best efforts of the best brains of the country have been devoted to the analysis and study of the situation in which we found ourselves, and if the solution has not yet been forthcoming, it will be remembered that the problem has been infinitely complex and human nature characteristically stubborn in its reluctance to leave the fancied shelter and protection of the past. Yet the country has been acutely conscious of the urgent and imperative reality of the problem, and while causes, diagnoses, measures and remedies are as yet imperfectly grasped and understood, the political convulsion of 1932 which brought President Roosevelt to power and the New Deal into being constituted a clear and unquestioned mandate for an advance from the past into the future, however dubious and uncertain the future might appear. As such the President accepted it and on that basis presumably he has acted.

Obviously the outstanding symptom of the Depression has been general unemployment, with its consequent contraction of purchasing power leading in turn to further unemployment in the vicious spiral described by countless economists. Yet unemployment has been the symptom and not the underlying cause of our economic maladjustment, and its reduction by spreading employment attacks the fundamental problem only so far as it places an increased purchasing power in the hands of a greater number of people. Over-production with its ensuing dislocation of purchasing power resulting in definite under-consumption lies more nearly at the heart of the matter, and unless purchasing power can be spread and increased to bring consumption and production more nearly into balance the capitalistic system presumably lies under sentence of death.

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In point of fact, modern production methods, both agricultural and industrial, are now so far advanced that the economic needs of the country amply can be filled by an ever decreasing expenditure of human labor. New needs are born daily but neither they nor the increased purchasing power they require can keep pace with the revolutionary and never ceasing advance in technical and scientific methods of production. Actually—and this is borne out by current statistics—fewer and fewer people are needed for the work of production. Inevitably purchasing power will be narrowed if occupation in productive enterprise continues to be the principal basis upon which purchasing power is distributed. The Technocrats, however discredited and forgotten, deserve well of their country for having clearly defined this problem of industrial civilization. The question is no longer one of production for its own sake but one of consumption, and to consume, under the institutions of capitalistic society, one must have purchasing power; without consumers, organized industry and agriculture perish, as we have seen.

In his speech of March 5th President Roosevelt plainly stated that the major objective of the New Deal, and of

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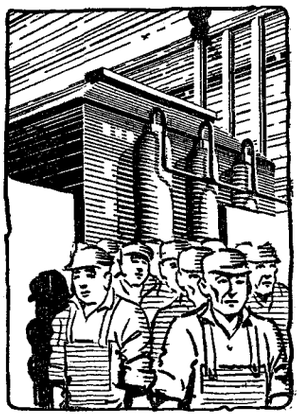

the National Recovery Administration in particular, was to increase the buying power of wage earners and farmers, and to that end he called on industry to employ more people at *purchasing wages.* As a means to spreading and increasing purchasing power the NRA had sought, and still seeks, to effect the reemployment of unemployed millions, largely through the device of decreasing the hours of labor, and to provide a living wage for those employed. Within limits this phase of NRA policy has been successful. Nevertheless, against the gains made through shortening hours and providing minimum wage scales under the NRA codes there has been a corresponding loss of purchasing power resulting from the rapid increase of prices as producers have attempted to cover their increased labor costs and to recoup their losses of the depression years, a procedure which strikes at the heart of the NRA program and threatens to negate its gains. Although this danger was apparent and recognized from the inception of the NRA, the steps taken to counteract it thus far in a large degree have been nugatory or futile, and this in spite of the fact that only through a positive increase in purchasing power for the consumer could the NRA program hope to succeed.

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The NRA may, or may not, prove ultimately successful in spreading purchasing power through the medium of employment at living wages. The chances are that with further improvement of technical methods in production its power to achieve this end will progressively diminish. Nonetheless, it constitutes the first frontal attack upon the problem of evolving a new and modern economic system, and, through its recognition, half-hearted and grudging though it be, of the consumer's interest as such, is a first and vital step toward the development of the economics of the future, a future in which the consumer will exert an increasingly direct influence and control over productive enterprise.

Under the NRA, as at present constituted, the consumer occupies a very modest position, and he has had to fight to hold even that. When the NRA was first set up, an Industrial Advisory Board chosen by the Secretary of Commerce and a Labor Advisory Board selected by the Department of Labor were created to assist the NRA Administrator in dealing with the questions of employment and wages. Almost as an afterthought a Consumers Advisory Board was established, ostensibly on a parity with the other two boards, but actually exercising little or no power in spite of the high qualifications of its members. That this should be the case is not surprising. The recognition of the consumer as a definite and distinct element in the organization of industry was a new and little understood concept. The country overwhelmingly thought in terms of production and of money wages. If it thought at all about the consumer it was to the effect that it was his duty to buy all that the farmers could raise and all that the factories could turn out: this done all they wanted of the consumer was "silence and damned little of that!" The fact that there is a saturation point to consumption of any commodity was ignored and the question of where the consumer was to get the money to buy was generally overlooked in the boom years when money and credit were plentiful. And in spite of the object lesson furnished by the Depression, the American public was not, and is not yet, in any large degree consumer-minded.

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This fact was reflected by the almost total absence from the American public scene of what might be termed a consumer constituency. Where industry had its powerful trade associations and chambers of commerce, and Labor had its unions, the vast body of consumers, of those whose interests lie in what they can buy, rather than in what they can produce or sell, was unorganized, inarticulate, non-existent in the political sense. Without organization or political backing, the consumer was well nigh powerless to influence either industry or labor in the formation of the NRA and the formulation of its codes and policies. A further indication of the ill-defined and inchoate status of the consumer interest as represented in the NRA may be found in the circumstance that the appointment of the Consumers Advisory Board was left in the hands of the NRA Administrator, thus making it directly dependent upon him and peculiarly subject to his control, in contrast with the independent character of the Industrial and Labor Advisory Boards. The Administrator himself, General Johnson, was and is entirely producer-minded and where he has not forgotten the existence of the Consumers Advisory Board his instinctive reaction has been to ignore or constrict its activities. That the Board has, under such circumstances, been able to survive at all is a species of triumph; that it has been able to make some definite progress affords the best proof possible of the fundamental vitality of the interest that gave it birth.

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Nevertheless, it has had rough sledding. The immediate objective of General Johnson was the understandable one of getting all the organized industries of the country under NRA codes as quickly as possible, to which end he was willing to make large concessions both to industry and labor. To accomplish this the consumer's interest and the Consumers Board were largely ignored: once this was achieved it would be possible to revise the established codes in the interest of the consumer and of the general public. The Consumers Board was in no position to contest this policy and to survive at all had to content itself with drawing attention to the more outrageous provisions of the proposed codes in their probable effect upon the consuming interest. Organizational difficulties within the Board and a lack of trained consumer representatives to present its case further weakened its hand, and in the majority of cases it succeeded merely in reading its objections into the record for future reference. However, useful work was accomplished in the analysis of trade practices tending unduly to increase prices to the buying public, and a major victory was won by the Board in its successful stand against price-fixing, notably in the Petroleum Code and the Retail Code.

This victory was nearly lost, however, in the general price hearings held in January by the NRA, when the Board succeeded in obtaining a hearing only after strenuous efforts against the attempt of the presiding officer, Gen-

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eral Johnson's deputy, to rule it out of order. General Johnson and his deputies were still producer-minded and in spite of conscientious efforts to keep the consumer in mind were constitutionally incapable of doing it for long. This trait was again given striking illustration at the opening hearing of the NRA "protest" meeting of February 27th when General Johnson after inviting representatives to speak on behalf of the Industrial and Labor Boards forgot, quite simply, to call upon the Consumers Board for its views. Indeed, certain of the General's utterances seem to indicate that he regards himself as the representative of the consumer in addition to being NRA Administrator, a rationalization which, in view of his preoccupation with producer problems, is hardly acceptable to the Board or helpful to the consumer himself.

Nevertheless, in spite of the blanketing it received at the price hearings, at the "protest" meeting of February 27th and in the daily run of code activities, the Consumers Board found its opportunity to become vocal and articulate on the eve of the meeting of the code authorities of March 5th. Against the protests of General Johnson it made public a report which attacked sharply various code provisions and practices detrimental to consumers' interests, as well as certain phases of NRA policy, and by catching the Monday morning newspapers just before the President was to address the assembled code authorities, it obtained the greatest and most effective publicity for its views and position which had yet been its lot. The force and legitimacy of its argument was reflected in the President's speech of that day and appears to have won him completely, if indeed he needed to be won. This has constituted the high point in the history of the Board to date and may be taken as foreshadowing an increased and increasing role of activity and authority for the Board. It has now survived the perils of its infancy, and in future alignments of NRA policy may be expected to assume a more aggressive line of action than was possible when it had to struggle for existence.

The present activities of the Board follow three main lines. It is still fighting a defensive battle against various devices and provisions in the industrial codes which tend to raise prices to the consumer unjustifiably and in advance of the increased labor costs in industry. It has stood firmly, and with some success, against the principle of price-fixing, against monopoly practices and against combinations of industry which threaten to suppress healthy price competition. Further, it has endeavored to establish quality standards for certain commodities. In general it has sought to prevent chiseling in the codes at the expense of the consumer, and has attempted to obtain for him fair prices.

Secondly, the Consumers Board has sought, and is seeking, together with Labor, direct representation upon the various code authorities. This right to representation has been freely admitted in principle, but in practice nothing has been done about it. The code authorities are entirely in the hands of the industrial groups, and for the most part governmental representation is confined to General Johnson's producer-minded deputies.

A third, and most important, branch of the Board's activities lies in the field of consumer education and the creation of centers of consumer information. The establishment of a system of consumers' councils in every county in the United States has been proposed and adopted in principle, and it carried out should fill a vital need in showing the consumer how the government can serve him and, more significantly, how he can serve himself. The plan has hung fire owing to its having been placed in the hands of that shadowy and ineffectual body, the National Emergency Council.

It is probably inevitable that the work of the Consumers Advisory Board in protecting and advancing consumer interests should have been retarded and relatively barren in positive results. The consumer as a class, as a political entity, has barely attained consciousness as compared with the producing classes of industry and labor, both of which are decidedly and aggressively group-conscious and have highly developed political and social organizations at their command. Until the consumer, by organizing and uniting and acting politically on behalf of his interests, can make his voice heard and his influence felt in Congress, in government, in the public consciousness, he is destined to remain the poor relation of the American economic system, the forgotten man who only pays the bills.

Efforts have been made by a number of organizations to organize consumer sentiment. Certain of them, especially among the women of the country, have been turning their attention toward consumer problems, and valuable work has been accomplished by such bodies as the League of Women Voters, the General Federation of Womens Clubs, the American Association of University Women, the National Consumers' League, as well as by the formation of a number of Consumers' Coöperatives and the activities of the American Association of Purchasing Agents. Twice in recent months emergency councils have been formed to attempt to coordinate the efforts of these separate groups, but thus far with little effect. Nevertheless, it is not impossible to envisage a day when, with the growth of consumer consciousness and an increased knowledge of consumer economics, a national organization of consumers, independent of the government, may come into being, which under proper leadership could successfully exercise the right of the consumer to stand on a par with industry and labor in the organization of American political economy. If and when that day arrives the transition of the United States into a new economic era will be complete. Until then the consumer and the Consumers Board must continue to wage their uphill struggle for recognition and consideration, and for the all-important purchasing power the consumer must have for our economic system to survive.

As yet only the surface of the consumers' problem has been scratched. Fair prices and sound quality standards must, of course, be maintained if purchasing power is to be increased and unemployment lessened. Once the consumer can assume the offensive in his fight for these, extravagance in management, excessive rewards to producer interests, extravagance in financing industry and the dead weight of unproductive debt, extravagance in selling and distributing goods, the factors which bloat the prices he has to pay, will offer a broad target for consumer activity. The elimination of these will come only when the consumer has learned to make his voice politically and economically forceful. When he does, it will be finally possible for the American consumer to act upon the suggestion of President Roosevelt's Secretary of Labor and to "treat himself to a little civilization."

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Economic War Reports

Compiled by E. H. Collins

American Front

EUROPE HAS BEEN WAITING in vain for the rise in prices in this country to counterbalance the export advantage which the 59.06-cent dollar gave. The price advance has been held back, first, by the operations of the NRA, the policy of which is opposed to a faster increase in prices than in purchasing power; and, second, by the tactics of watchful waiting which the speculative element has adopted pending the next stimulative move by the Administration. Europe has been expecting another advance in the gold price, seeing the price increase slow up, and the silver interests in the United States have been tireless in their efforts to have something more done for silver. China has made it clear that she watches with grave concern the attempts being made here to put up the price of silver again by direct governmental action, and Europe is afraid lest this country try again to enlarge its share of the export market. The Administration is keeping fully abreast of the rest of the world in the schemes now in style for obtaining a larger share of available export trade. President Roosevelt would have Congress give him the power to change tariff rates upward or downward at will; he already has the power to alter the gold content of the dollar from 50 to 60 cents. These powers are in line with the new theory of the advantage inherent in quick changes in trade relations, be the nation aggressively seeking an increased portion of the available trade, or merely trying to retain that part which it has. In addition, the Administration is up to the moment in its plans to finance exports. It has devised a system of export-import banks, and the RFC is asking for power to guarantee export bills directly. The United States is not behind the swim in trade maneuvers; indeed, some earnest souls fear that its role is too aggressive.

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German Front

DEVELOPMENTS in the German economic situation have been coming thick and fast. Statistically, greatest importance attaches to the adverse trade balance of 34,600,000 reichsmarks in February, comprising the largest deficit during the Depression. As it followed an adverse balance of 22,200,000 marks in January, the total excess of imports in the first two months of the year was 56,800,000 marks. Of scarcely less importance is the further fall of 47,000,000 marks in the Reichsbank's gold holdings in mid-February, bringing the central bank's gold down to 265,730,000, against 738,983,000 a year ago. On the forensic side, the chief event is another speech by Herr Schacht, in which he threatened to bar all imports. The Nazi trade strategy was uncovered when he remarked that the rest of the world could not hope to know prosperity if the 66,000,000 Germans quit the buyers' market. On such a belief does the Reich base its hope that the anti-Nazi boycott cannot succeed. (Meanwhile, however, several more New York department stores have closed their Berlin offices.) Herr Schacht, in addition, made the interesting point that Germany's private debt was in reality political and hence should be wiped out. It was on this ground that Herr Schacht campaigned for the discontinuance of reparation payments. For domestic trade, the principal development was the subdivision of German industry into twelve branches and the appointment of Philip Kessler as economic dictator. On the political side, of paramount interest was the beginning of a drive by the Reich Colonial League to regain the lost colonies. The average wage of skilled labor in industry has fallen about 1 per cent since the Nazis gained power.

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Russian Sector

WHILE FRANCE, ITALY, GREAT BRITAIN and the United States were making fond trade overtures to Russia, Sweden has stepped in, unexpectedly, and walked off with the prize, or at least the first prize. The Swedish government has granted a 100,000,000 kroner loan (about $26,000,000) to the Soviet government, and the significant feature of the transaction is that the loan does not mature until 1941. Thus it is the first long term the Soviet government has obtained abroad in the nearly seventeen years of its existence. The interest rate, be it noted, is 5½ per cent. This compares with rates of from 25 to 35 per cent which the Soviet had to pay for short term accommodations a few years ago. The proceeds of the loan will be expended entirely in Sweden. Other nations will not relax their efforts to obtain a portion of Russia's trade, but they have now had fair warning of the kind of terms they must grant. Soviet officials are probably done with foreign buying on short credits, such as those which Germany granted. The Soviet government, hearkening unto the American requests for orders, has decided to send a trade mission to this country to survey the field and talk trade, and the Amtorg head, Bogdanov, has been recalled to Moscow for a conference. The United States began late in courting Soviet trade as a national policy, but an attempt is being made to compensate with determined efforts for the delay in getting started.

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Italian Front

THE DISRUPTION which Japan is causing in the trade channels of the world is the most striking characteristic of the international economic scene. Consider, for another example, what Japan has done to the Italian silk industry. Under-secretary Alberto Asquini said recently that the entire silk output for the present season was being held in home warehouses because it could not be marketed abroad except at a loss. The reason for this is Japanese competition, for which Italy, for all of its cheap labor, is no match. Some Italian interests are trying to line up the "white" nations to contest Japan's in-

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vasion of world markets. Perhaps Great Britain, which finds the struggle with Japanese textiles unequal, might be interested in the plan. The cheap currency countries are making steady inroads into Italy's foreign trade. Italian exports in January were 45,000,000 lire less than the total for January, 1933, and the adverse balance was 22,000,000 lire higher. Senator Agnelli has suggested the formation of a consortium which would handle the nation's foreign commerce. It would operate on this principle: An Italian article would be bought for, say, ten lire and sold abroad for eight lire; conversely, a foreign product would be bought by the consortium for eight lire and sold in Italy for ten lire, thereby stimulating exports and discouraging imports. Italian flour is being offered free in Austria, this unusual procedure being made possible because of the export premium.

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French Front

THE CHIEF OUTPUT of the French government is tariff changes, most of them on the upside. New quota restrictions have been decreed on a number of imports in which the United States is interested, including copper, zinc, aluminum, lead, office equipment and agricultural machinery. Since France does not produce copper and the other metals, either at home or in the colonies, the surmise is that the quotas were established for bargaining purposes with the United States in the impending trade negotiations. In a burst of generosity, however, France has decided to allow the importation of 5,000 metric tons of American apples in the second quarter without even waiting to try to arrange an exchange of wines for apples. French unemployment has reached the 350,000 mark, or 20,000 above the total for a year ago, and no relief is in sight from the deflation. Various interests are joining hands to agitate for devaluation of the franc, with the miners of the north, the silk manufacturers of Lyons, other export trades of all kinds and the hotels and restaurants prominent in the movement. The concerns catering to tourists and resident foreigners are prostrate, for France is the costliest place in the world to live.

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British Sector

WALTER RUNCIMAN, President of the Board of Trade, has promised to help British textile exporters if negotiations to limit Japanese exports failed. It appears that he will have to make good on his promise, for Japan has declined to consent to conditions which would have meant a great victory, diplomatically and economically, for Britain. Reminding the Japanese that their exports of textiles were increasing faster than the trade of the rest of the world, the British asked that they agree to enlarge their exports only as and when world trade improved. The Japanese reply to this proposal was final and brief: Nothing doing! More than "moral suasion" is necessary to meet the competition which Japan's modern plants and low labor costs can supply. In February cloth exports from Great Britain totaled £4,756,000, against £5,088,000 in January. Japanese competition and the depreciated dollar helped to widen the adverse British trade balance in February, when total exports were £2,000,000 above the figure for February, 1933, but imports were £8,000,000 higher. The February decrease in unemployment was 71,159, or less than half of the 164,989 January increase in unemployed. A feeling of hopefulness prevailed in Britain that further trade gains would be scored, and to this feeling the expectation of a sizable budget surplus made a large contribution. Negotiations were proceeding to patch up the differences leading to the trade war with France.

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Japanese Sector

ONE NEVER LOOKS to Japan for innovations. Yet in the way Japan imitates, in the manner in which she exploits Occidental ideas more fully, there is something of the creative. Her most recent aping of the West in trade methods is the passage of the Trade Defense Bill, which gives her the power, already enjoyed by France and Great Britain and sought by President Roosevelt, of raising or lowering tariffs and even of prohibiting imports entirely if the "national interest" demands it. Japan has just denounced the League of Nations convention against tariff increases, the last of the important nations to take this step. One would have thought that Japan was the last country in the world to need higher tariffs, as her production costs are the lowest of all. But what one sometimes forgets in estimating the forces of economic warfare is that tariffs have bargaining power, and it is that which Japan is seeking. The rest of the world may need tariffs to protect home industry, but not Japan. What Manchukuo means to Japan is shown by the 1933 trade figures, which reveal that the puppet state was Japan's second largest customer, one which yielded to her a favorable trade balance of 135,000,000 yen. The total turnover in Japanese foreign trade was higher by about 1,000,000,000 yen, and the import surplus was reduced to 80,000,000 yen.

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Latin American Front

WHEN THE REPUBLIC OF PANAMA thirty years ago conceded the Canal Zone to the United States, we agreed to pay the Isthmian country an annuity of $250,000 "in gold coin of the United States." On February 26 of this year, the Treasurer of the United States remitted the customary check for $250,000 to the Fiscal Agent of Panama with a request that a "receipt in full" be returned immediately. Instead, the Fiscal Agent of the tiny Caribbean power returned the check as inadequate, asking for gold in accordance with the terms of the treaty, and by doing so placed Uncle Sam in an embarrassing dilemma. The treaty called for gold, and treaties cannot be abrogated save by mutual consent of the contracting parties, or by acts of war. Yet if our government paid the annuity in gold, it would have had to recognize that in some circumstances at least devaluation of the dollar was a fiction. The result is that Washington is postponing a decision, obviously reluctant to flout public opinion in Latin America by any step smacking of disrespect for treaties and the sovereignty of our small Caribbean neighbors, yet equally unwilling to give substance to a gold clause. Would it not have been far better to have paid the legal tender equivalent of the gold annuity without fuss or delay, perhaps explaining simultaneously that this remittance was unique in its conditions? In this way what may now become a crucial international issue might have been passed over almost without public notice. It begins to appear that the Administration committed an unfortunate mistake in questioning its obligation under the Panama treaty.

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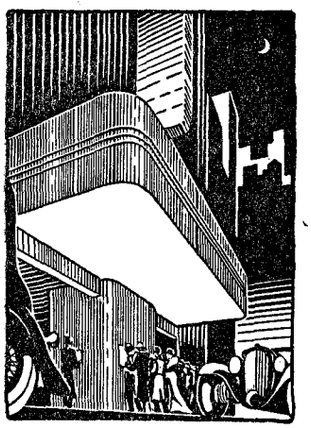

To See or Not to See

By Cy Caldwell

Yellow Jack *Dramatic history by Sidney Howard. Presented by Guthrie McClintic*

Mr. Howard has written an admirable though somewhat disjointed history of Major Walter Reed and his associates and their heroic fight against yellow fever in Cuba; it is taken from the most engrossing chapter of Paul De Kruif's story of the microbe hunters, a story of magnificent courage, of self-sacrificing devotion to the science of preventive medicine. If, on the stage, the story takes on an air of theatrical unreality, the fault lies not with the playwright but with the producer. If ever a play demanded realism in settings, Yellow Jack is that play. But Mr. McClintic provides a peculiar setting by Jo Mielziner which, so far as this reviewer is concerned, simply got itself between the play and the audience, and stuck there for two and a half hours without even an intermission. An immense backdrop may give you the impression of blue Cuban skies, but the steps on either side of a central platform only suggested to me that here was an opportunity for Bill Robinson to do his tap-dancing; on the platform was a sort of squirrel cage lying on its side, which you were supposed to imagine was Dr. Reed's laboratory. I wasn't up to it. If a producer wants me to imagine something, he must give me a little assistance. Excellent acting by a competent cast goes far to overcome the handicap of that static setting and the artificial atmosphere it gives to the production. I earnestly recommend the play and the acting to intelligent theatre goers, although I feel that the method of staging is wrong.

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They Shall Not Die *Play by John Wexley. Presented by the Theatre Guild*

Playwright John Wexley, one of our most persistent manipulators of newspaper headlines, has worked himself into a lather about the Scottsboro case; and if you are one of those happily excitable people who can churn themselves into a turmoil about obscure Causes I believe that you will find They Shall Not Die a tremendously powerful play. But if you are at all like this newspaper reader and reviewer, I fear that you will find the play rather a nightmare, ending in a tired yawn; you will find nothing, except a phony love scene, that you haven't read before in the papers. It is newspaper stuff, a twice-told tale, as tiresome as old stories invariably are.

Grim recitals of man's inhumanity to man usually leave me where they find me, for I take social injustice for granted; you don't have to prove it to me in a dreary play, every move of which I can forecast in advance. For instance, I consider it unjust that three million young white men should die in a meaningless war that raged between 1914 and 1918; and I consider it hardly fair that I should be forced to pay an income tax while J. P. Morgan evades it and shoots grouse in Scotland. But if you put these dismal things in a play for me you are laboring under the disadvantage that I already have granted your original premise. So why rub it in, and keep me there three hours to do it?

That's how I feel about Mr. Wexley's long-winded chronicle, which is nothing more than a conscientious rehash of newspaper accounts, weakened by a cooked-up romance for the girl who repudiated her original testimony that the negroes had attacked her on a freight train. However, as the play is an intelligent though somewhat shrill indictment of social injustice many susceptible souls undoubtedly will be moved to wrath by it. The Broadway cast is competent but somewhat handicapped by the necessity of trying to imitate a southern accent; they never get very far south of the Macy-Gimbel line. Claude Rains, obviously mis-cast, battles valiantly with a southern judge and a New York Jewish accent, and comes off second best in each instance; Ruth Gordon makes of the recanting witness a pathetic, theatrically effective, but quite unbelievable figure; and Ralph Theadore, Helen Westley, Hale Norcross, Dean Jagger, Ben Smith, and Linda Watkins turn in good performances. Best of the lot are the nine coloured boys in the cast —you will find yourself believing in them. If you wish to spend three hours hating the State of Alabama, here's your chance.

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Dodsworth *Play by Sidney Howard from Sinclair Lewis' novel. Presented by Max Gordon*

Dodsworth is a deeply interesting, thoroughly human, entirely believable, and utterly entrancing character study of a middle-aged mid-western automobile manufacturer who sells his business and departs for Europe so that his shallow, selfish and still youngish wife, who is terrified at the thought of growing old, may have her empty-headed fling at the "culchaw" for which Europe is noted. But Mrs. Dodsworth isn't up to it: she misses the culture entirely and clutches amorously and romantically at various male cultures produced only in European laboratories: an English major who couldn't have been of much assistance in the last war, an international Jew, and a young German of ancient lineage. All of this wears upon honest and sturdy Sam Dodsworth, who spends his time visiting the museums, the Tower of London, Napoleon's Tomb, and other points of interest and decay, and in general becomes as lost and hopeless as an amateur American diplomat at a disarmament conference. In short, like any other simple American who goes to Europe, such as the late President Wilson and all of our ambassadors, including the new one to Russia, Sam Dodsworth is taken for a ride. He doesn't like it, but he can't seem to do much about it until an understanding lady rescues him from Europe, his wife, and himself, all of which or whom had conspired to ruin him.

As a play in three acts and fourteen scenes, with the curtain falling even oftener than that to denote the passage of time, Dodsworth is chiefly an episodic chronicle of Sam's life; it never is with you long enough to build up any intense emotion. Now you see him in this scene; then the curtain falls and when it rises again you see him in still another episode. You always are interested, but seldom moved. It is rather like looking through the Dodsworth family album, with brief waits while the stage-hands turn the pages. And this undoubtedly is a handicap, giving to the play a sort of picture post-card effect. But I am happy to report that what with clever writing and an understanding production, Mr. Howard, Mr. Lewis, Mr. Gordon, and an amazingly fine cast manage to overcome this handicap triumphantly; and Dodsworth comes to you and will linger in your memory as a superfine entertainment which I enthusiastically recommend to your attention. As Dodsworth that sterling actor Walter Huston gives a splendid characterization, real as life, true in every detail; his is one of the three finest performances of the season, ranking with Henry Hull's in Tobacco Road and George M. Cohan's in Ah, Wilderness. As the erring wife Fay Bainter offers a sensitive character portrayal, marred, to my way of thinking, by a dissolution into bathos in the last act—but I may be wrong. Anyhow, don't let anything keep you away from Dodsworth.

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New Faces *Revue presented by Charles Dillingham*

These New Faces belong to a group of good companions from California, mostly; all are blithe, eager, bubbling with happiness and enthusiasm that communicates itself to the audience, evoking round after round of applause. I liked every one of them. All are young, or seem so to an old gent in Row N, and with them abides yet the charm of youth—youth and hope and the certain knowledge that the world is their oyster and that they have only to grin and it will open to them. *Heigh ho!* I used to feel that way myself one time—it was after the Civil War. Anyhow, you wont go wrong for light entertainment if you hie to the Fulton Theatre and stay awhile with these engaging youngsters; some still are at the imitative stage, others may never realize their dreams, but some among them are bound for the heights, and will get there. I loved them all for their youth and for their high spirits, and I commend them to your attention. They were directed by Leonard Sillman, a bright young man who sings and dances in the show, and they were supervised (whatever that may mean) by dear Elsie Janis. And it's Mr. Dillingham's production. Do you need any more urging from me to insure your attendance? That is, of course, if you like revues and youth, as I do. If you're a crusty old gent who demands maturity and possibly perfection in acting, New Faces is not for you, for it smacks of the amateur. But a nice, enthusiastic, happy amateur. I think you'll like it.

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George White's Scandals *Fox Film*

The credits and debits are fairly well balanced in this elaborate cinema vaudeville show, so if you set down what you like against what you don't like, the result may be that you'll toss a coin to decide whether to see it or not. Personally, I'd say don't bother, for you've a lot to contend with. There's Rudy Vallee for one thing; I don't find that he satisfies any of my wistful yearnings for music, humor or acting. In this picture I suspect that he is trying to be funny, though perhaps I do him an injustice. Anyhow he isn't. Mr. Vallee is very hard to take, and so are a group of stage children, vulgar attempts at humor, and an aimless, disjointed story which, if you called it childish, would be an insult to the children of the nation. It's a story that even a United States Senator should be ashamed to admit that he had written. However, on the credit side we have Jimmy Durante, my favorite screen lover, and Miss Alice Faye, a cute little blonde who can put over a song mixed up with sex appeal and make any tired business man or discouraged reviewer stop yawning and take a slight interest in life and the current cinematic exhibit. I recommend Mr. Durante, Miss Faye, the settings, and the scantily clad chorus. But to see them, you'll have to endure the rest of it. The decision is up to you; I'm trying to be neutral.

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Wonder Bar *Warner Brothers*

To me the most interesting thing about any Warner musical picture is the really amazing work of Busby Berkeley, the inventive genius who devises and directs the dances. Mr. Berkeley can move chorus girls around as deftly as President Roosevelt can direct those trained seals that are billed as Democratic Senators and Congressmen. That chorus girls and Congressmen don't have to think is no bar to directors Berkeley and Roosevelt; they do the thinking for the two groups, moving them hither and thither to our vast entertainment and amusement. Having placed chorus girls in every position that the imagination can conceive, on land, in the air, and in the water, Mr. Berkeley has surpassed himself in Wonder Bar by making three or four chorus girls bloom where only one bloomed before. He does it with mirrors, and the effect is startling. For the rest, the picture contains Al Jolson and a capable cast, a couple of pleasant songs, and lavish settings. You don't have to pay any attention to the story. In fact, it's better not to. If you like Al Jolson, and pretty girls in graceful movements, Wonder Bar is good enough entertainment.

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The House of Rothschild *United Artists - 20th Century*

Here is a magnificent picture, grand and majestic in quality, character, and action, depicting with historical accuracy in its broader aspect the underlying humanity and worthiness of the Rothschild family. If the figure of Nathan Mayer Rothschild is accepted as symbolic of this Jewish family (which obviously is intended) the picture may be accepted as historically accurate, and entirely fair. It is an ironical comment on the activities of the group of sadistic maniacs and bellowing barbarians who control Germany today. (And lest I be accused of race prejudice, let me say that I am Nordic.) As entertainment, which is the way we really should appraise it, the House of Rothschild is superb. Mr. George Arliss gives the grandest and most powerful performance of his career, not forgetting his splendid impersonation of Disraeli. Probably Nathan Rothschild never was so sentimental as he is depicted here, but that is an inconsequential detail; allowances must be made for the romantic necessities of the cinema. I feel that this is honest history, of a family and of a race, and that the romantic elements are admissible, even if you cannot find historical reason for them in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. There are grand performances by Helen Westley as Gudula Rothschild and by C. Aubrey Smith as the Duke of Wellington, and there is a lovely characterization by Loretta Young as Julie Rothschild. All of the other parts are played excellently, believably. If you ask me to name the most interesting picture of 1934, so far, I would unhesitatingly nominate The House of Rothschild.

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Spitfire *RKO-Radio*

As one of Miss Katharine Hepburn's most approving cinema public, and as one of her sourest and severest critics when she is so ill advised as to appear on the stage in the company of real actresses, it is a pleasure for me to report that Miss Hepburn is back where she shines, and where, at least at this stage of her career, she obviously belongs. And that is in Hollywood before the kindly camera with the gentle sound recording instruments which muffle the natural harshness of her undisciplined and monotonous voice. Machinery is kind to Miss Hepburn, and she should stay with it yet awhile. In Spitfire, a nonsensical picture in which nobody over twelve could take the least stock, Miss Hepburn is remarkably good. Or, having seen and heard Miss Hepburn herself on the honest and revealing stage, perhaps it would be more accurate to report that Miss Hepburn, Director John Cromwell, Cameraman Edward Cronjager, and Recording Engineer Clem Portman make a remarkably fine four-sided figure which is billed as Katharine Hepburn. Anyhow, I enjoyed her or them in this picture. I shudder to think what it would have been without her, or them. I can imagine nothing more ghastly than a stage version of Spitfire, starring Katharine Hepburn.

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Six of a Kind *Paramount*

Here is good fun for everyone, and especially grand entertainment for those discerning cinema patrons who delight in the solemn insanities of that king of comedians, Mr. W. C. Fields. In this gloriously crazy picture he is the Sheriff of a Nevada town, playing his famous game of billiards, describing how he came to be called Honest John, and remarking that everything really pleasant is either illegal, immoral, or fattening. To me, a devout Fields fan, he is the star of the picture, in which Mary Boland, Charles Ruggles, and Burns and Allen render good support. Mr. Ruggles and Miss Boland, as husband and wife off for a second honeymoon by automobile, have the misfortune to take Mr. Burns and Miss Allen and a Great Dane along to share expenses on their trip to California. They have about as much luck as the United States Army had in trying to fly the Air Mail.

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David Harum *Fox Film*

David Harum is rather slow-paced and full of yawns, but with Will Rogers in the title role and with a good snappy finish it sums up as a better than average program picture. There's not much of a plot, and for the first half of the picture there isn't even very much to keep you awake, but it's all right if you like Will Rogers, and I do, very much. Earning $7,500 a week in the pictures and probably as much more in radio and syndicated writings, Mr. Rogers always delights me when he pretends to be just a simple fellow from Oklahoma, diffidently expressing his humble opinions about this and about that, and seeming to apologise for holding any opinion about anything. He's a mighty good actor, for every bit of this is acting. Actually he is a shrewd man of the world, highly intelligent, and a money maker who doesn't have to doff his hat to any one. The United States, noted for wasting its natural resources, is content to see Will Rogers act the clown and add to his millions, and so is Mr. Rogers. He would make an ideal Secretary of Air in President Roosevelt's Administration, in charge of air activities in the Army, the Navy, and Civil Aviation. But I suppose they'll let him go on chewing gum and doing his act. Anyhow, you'll like him as David Harum—a part that Lionel Barrymore could have played very much better. You see, Will Rogers always insists upon remaining Will Rogers.

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The Colossus of Roads

By Katharine A. Kellock

We ride on roads; we seldom think about them, yet we pay for them. Why they are where they are, who controls them, what is happening to a quarter of million dollars of Emergency Funds to build more roads is told in this article.

A NEW deal is long over-due on the whole highway question, including both city streets and rural roads.

In the last twenty-five years we have spent billions of dollars on our highways; nearly five billion of that money is still outstanding in bonds that are taking interest and which must be paid off. Yet today few large cities do not feel the need of spending millions more; as for the country districts—seventy per cent of the farms are still on mud roads and twenty per cent more are on gravel roads that may be impassable in spots during the spring thaws.

The city man who is not a property holder is calling for wider streets and roads to enable him to make more speed; the country man wants any cheap surfaced paving that will enable him to take his crops to market without too much wear and tear on his light truck, any roads that will take his children to good schools and that will enable him to get medical attention in a hurry for his family when it is needed.

Both rural and urban property holders look forward to further highway expenditures with alarm.

In 1933, in the interest of increasing employment, Congress voted that $400,000,000 of PWA funds should be spent on highways. The fund is being spent on an allotment basis that is not in accord with the needs. Roughly, one quarter is going to city streets, one half to further improvements on the relatively small Federal Aid system and but a quarter to the ninety-two per cent of the national mileage that is outside that system. Of the $220,000,000 expenditure that had been approved for rural roads at the end of December, more than a third was going into 2,629 miles of expensive concrete roads; this amount would have provided 16,000 miles of cheap surfaced roads in those places where they are sorely needed.

We have a great over-building of expensive roads and, at the same time, a shocking lack of any improvements in other places. All over the country there are strips of shining white concrete with so little traffic that the surfaces do not show the familiar streak of oil indicative of even moderate travel; in the same states there are whole communities shut off from the outside world at certain times of the year for lack of the simplest road surfaces.

With all these inequalities and deficiencies the burden of our highways is becoming alarming.

In the able study of county and municipal taxation and expenditures in New Jersey, made in 1928 under the direction of Dr. Harley L. Lutz of Princeton University, the conclusion was reached that the problem of road and street costs was the second most important problem in governmental finance before the people of the state. It was also stated, "If to this very large volume of expenditure there be added the difficult question of a wise and economical future policy, the highway situation becomes easily the most important problem before the people in the field of governmental finance. The state and local units are alike involved. . . ."

The average citizen is in a hopeless maze when he tries to form an intelligent opinion of the highway problems in which he finds himself entangled. The great unorganized majority is always helpless in the presence of a high-pressure minority that is advancing its own interests. Dozens of organizations representing this minority weave around him a web of pseudo-scientific information and play on his ignorance and prejudices in the furtherance of a system that is against the majority interests.

Curiously enough, a powerful propagandist has entered the field on his side of the highway question; but because that propagandist, the Association of Railway Executives, has its own axe to grind, the citizen receives its statements with open suspicion.

The dilemma in which we find ourselves is of recent origin. Twenty-five years ago when people started out for an automobile ride in the cities they fully expected to lose part of the car's inner machinery in jouncing over ruts and cobblestones; when they left the cities they had to muffle themselves in goggles and linen coats to escape the clouds of dust that flew up around them. The production of inexpensive motor cars brought a loud popular demand for smooth streets and surfaced rural highways.

It was no one's fault that we started on our highway building without definite plans for the future. Only a shrewd visionary would have dreamed in 1908 that the 63,500 passenger cars then owned in America would increase to twenty-one million in 1932 and that to that number there would be added over three million trucks and buses.

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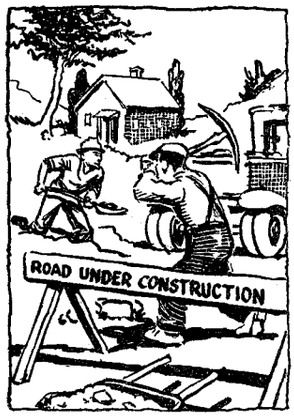

In 1908 most communities were responsible for their own roads. People were assessed for improvements on the roads passing their doors and, except in a few places, chiefly in the larger cities, the highways were under the supervision of men with no more technical training than had the local Supervisor of the Outdoor Poor. We are still limping along under the remnants of that primitive system that grew up in the days when no man traveled more than forty miles from his own bed in a day.

Cities, states and some of the more populous counties now have engineering staffs that supervise a limited main road system. The state systems total a little more than a tenth of the national mileage. The remaining sections are in the hands of county and township authorities, some trained, more untrained. In the last few years several states, notably Pennsylvania, Michigan, North Carolina and Virginia, have made progress toward taking over the supervision of the whole rural mileage. This is a step that should be hastened everywhere to wipe out the existing inequalities in the character of improvements and to make for economical and efficient administration. It is particularly necessary in order to raise the quality and regularity of surface maintenance, a very important factor in the life of an investment.

The Federal government entered the field of highway improvement when Congress passed the first Federal Aid Act in 1916. In the next five years the original Act was amended and expanded to set up the present Federal Aid system for the stimulation of highway activities in backward states and the coördination of a national highway system. The Secretary of Agriculture was made administrator through a Bureau of Public Roads. The plan was for the government to provide money for the improvement of a limited main mileage, the states matching the amount given. This gave powerful stimulation to rural road-building. People everywhere wanted roads; the offer from the Federal government was too good to be turned down. State highway departments were built up and bond issues were authorized in steadily increasing amounts.

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Twenty-five years ago the supply of engineers was limited; all had to learn on the job to meet the new demands. Some of the early roads were good; most of them were bad. They broke, crumbled and buckled. The engineers were bedeviled by politicians who saw rivers of graft in the plentiful highway funds. Many contractors cheated and stole. But the people paid the bills and cried for more roads and wider streets.

Most engineers tried to do good jobs and, on the whole, they have helped to make road funds more honestly administered today. The present difficulties, in the main, are the result of muddling advances and a lack of intelligent leadership and vision. When an uninformed popular demand is backed by seemingly endless funds it is more comfortable to follow the lines of least resistance. The people called for their highways and left technical details to the technicians. Unfortunately, the engineers remained without proper guidance in solving their problems.

When Congress set up the Bureau of Public Roads some long-sighted person saw to it that the Bureau was provided with funds and powers to do highway research and investigation, for an analysis of needs is the first step in the solution of the highway problem. The Bureau began state traffic studies in 1924. So far it has participated in such studies in about three eighths of the states.

The study made in Ohio in 1924 in coöperation with local authorities was a splendid job for the time. Observers were placed at over a thousand points on the main road system to count and analyze traffic. Every vehicle was stopped to find the length of its journey, its place of registration, whether it was traveling on business or pleasure. Trucks were checked on their loads, cargo and tire equipment. From this material a map was made that showed traffic volume on all parts of the system. With the aid of estimates of population and car registration increase, forecasts were made on probable traffic densities for each section in the following ten years. In the 11,000 miles studied 947 were found to have traffic of more than 1,500 cars a day.

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Existing roads of the system were then classified and maintenance costs by class were examined to determine the type of road improvements standing up under given volumes of traffic. Concrete and brick were selected as suitable for heavy traffic on that basis. Of these types 2,850 miles were found to be in the system already although traffic called for but 947 at the time. Ohio seemed well provided for her needs for some years to come, even though some of the mileage was not placed where most needed and a lot of it needed widening.

The standards set up in Ohio on types of surface required for differing volumes of traffic were completely upset by new developments. Increasing sizes and weights of buses and trucks put strains on roads that made estimates of volume alone useless. These vehicles also made necessary the revision of widths of roads necessary for mixed traffic. Roads wide enough for two lines of passenger cars of the usual six-foot width were quite inadequate when buses and trucks eight feet wide entered the stream. Changes in the formulas of the mixtures used in surfacing and a better understanding of base courses and subsoils brought new strength to pavements.

More recently, other factors have entered the calculations. Studies of speeds showed that road strain increased with increased car speeds. "Speed limited to 45 miles an hour" is more than a safety measure. Tire developments, on the other hand, have lessened road damage. Solid tires gave way to pneumatics and they in turn to the low-pressure tires, which materially protect the road surfaces.

Such constantly changing elements in the traffic picture call for continuing studies to determine the most economical way of expending the public monies in highway building. The studies should be made under rigidly controlled conditions of traffic volume and variety, of regular and carefully supervised maintenance, of differing vehicle speeds, tire types and loads.

Studies of this kind are an indispensable step in the solution of the highway problem in order to adjust construction to the findings of the traffic surveys. It would be quite uneconomical for the states to conduct such tests

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individually. Moreover, they should be conducted by a publicly supported organization entirely divorced from the administration of road outlays. It is an almost constant experience that organizations engaged in construction, or the supervision of construction, seek to justify their past outlays. They are rarely more non-partisan than are commercial organizations providing "scientific tests" to further the sales of their materials. State engineering colleges cannot be depended upon to provide the disinterested point of view. These colleges are usually working in close co-operation with state highway departments. The instructors and investigators may be acting as consultants on the state systems and the state highway engineers are often closely connected with the engineering faculties. Because of limited funds state colleges are frequently dependent upon commercial interests for the use of materials for their tests. The more powerful the interests the less likely is a state college expert to offend them by repudiation of their claims.

The provision of such scientific information in the interest of the whole road program should be the most important work of the Bureau of Public Roads, now that the main highway systems are no longer in need of the early fostering. The trouble with the Bureau seems to be that it has developed an obsession on the supreme importance of the relatively small mileage of the Federal Aid system; in the cause of this super-highway it is interested only in bigger and heavier surfaces. It still gives lip service to the use of less expensive materials than concrete but its record of approving plans for the use of Federal funds, its published material and the records of the testimony of its chief at Congressional and Interstate Commerce hearings show only too clearly its bias.

Two years ago, when Congress was considering an appropriation for road building as a measure of unemployment relief, the Bureau was asked how much of the highway dollar went to labor. Its report considered only one type of construction, the cement road, a construction in which the employment of direct labor is probably the lowest. But, by a brilliant *tour de force,* the Bureau showed that 90 per cent of the dollar spent on cement roads goes to labor. After tracing 40 per cent to labor on the construction, in the preparation of materials, and in transportation—labor including everyone from the shovelman to railway presidents—it assigned another 50 per cent to labor by explaining that even profits and rents went eventually to labor in some form of new construction, such as factories, and so on. This seems a somewhat ingenious analysis when it is considered that, according to the Department of Commerce, all labor was receiving but 65 per cent of the national income even in 1929.

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An almost naive exhibition of the bias appeared in a recent "study" of roads in Pennsylvania to which the Bureau gave wide circulation in the form of graphs and charts for popular education. The study purported to show that "the strongest, most durable, and most expensive pavements can be built on the entire highway system solely at the expense of the motor vehicles, and with each class of vehicles paying its fair share, with almost no change in the present rates of license fees and gasoline taxes levied in the state.

"But how are the lesser roads to be built if all the motor vehicle's contribution is devoted to the main state highways? The answer is: By means of a tax on land."

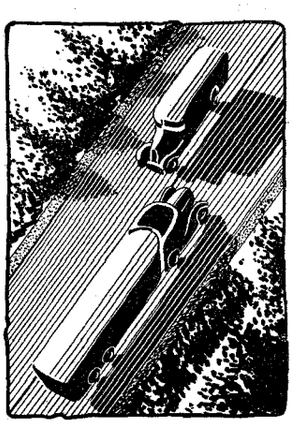
Just what merit there would be in taxing the farmers for their roads in order to put "the most expensive pavements" on the small main-road-Federal-Aid mileage is a riddle.

In the opinion of many reputable engineers even the heaviest traffic sections do not always require the costly surfaces the Bureau advocates; they say that there are inherent values in many soils and sub-grades which have never been properly studied and that these values give them a high supporting quality that is seldom considered. Impartial tests should provide information on this point in the interest of economy.

Recently the Federal Coördinator of Railroads has attempted to find material for judgment on the controversy between the railroads and the bus and truck owners. It is the contention of the railroads that these vehicle owners are carrying on unfair competition with the rail-carriers in using roads enlarged and strengthened for them at the public expense. The Bureau insisted that the buses and trucks were paying their share of the expense—or nearly so; the railroads called in experts of high reputation in defense of their thesis. Although these men were doing a job for the railroads and were undoubtedly picked for it because it was known that they believed that the heavy vehicles are causing highway costs to mount in disproportion to the amount that they pay, none the less their opinions must have weight because they are men with exceedingly good engineering reputations. One of them was the Dean of the School of Engineering at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. These men riddled many of the figures and statements advanced by the Bureau and illustrated anew the great need for an impartial body to carry on highway investigations.

The problem raised by the heavy trucks and buses is one of the most controversial in the field at present. The heavy vehicles do perform a much needed public service. In reasonable sizes they belong to the transportation picture. On the other hand they constitute only about 2 per cent of the total vehicle registration. It is probable that they should be limited to the use of a very small main highway and street mileage—routes to which they gravitate by the nature of their services. But a judgment of the part they should pay for the construction of the heavy trunk routes again awaits careful studies that an impartial public bureau of road standards should be making. On the basis of such material, cities and states could make equitable regulations and assessments of vehicle fees.

It is quite as necessary for the cities to do this as for the states. Such a sane plan would make unnecessary the building of heavy surfaces in every section of a city; the restriction of heavy vehicles to a small portion of the total streets would probably halve paving costs and still provide the city with streets capable of bearing large volumes of light passenger and commercial vehicles. A restriction of this sort would obviously be in the interest of all tax-payers, including bus and truck owners.



The average citizen has but the faintest conception of what the possibilities are in highway paving. He

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knows dirt and gravel roads, high-ridged and ribbed macadam and "blacktop," and shining concrete. Few know that in most places it is now possible to build smooth riding roads at but a third of the cost of the concrete.

The first step in all road building is careful drainage and grading. The earth road is then good for light summer travel. A layer of gravel will make it a year round road. Gravel, however, crushes and blows away. It is costly to maintain and if it is not maintained it is but little better than an ungraveled road in the winter. Usually after the first season or two it is more economical to put some light binder on the gravel. Such a road costs $5,000 a mile complete and is of the type used on the new "Pinchot roads" in Pennsylvania which, so far, are holding up well. Annual maintenance runs about two hundred dollars a year, it is estimated, including a new surface treatment every three years.

There are about a dozen different kinds of surface and base to choose from between that road and concrete. Most of them can be built up through the years on the original base. A road that is estimated at the cost of $10,000 a mile will, in the opinion of Army engineers, carry 2-3,000 cars and light trucks a day without difficulty. The Army is making its plans for the motorization of divisions with such roads in mind.

Every road except the heaviest must be protected from use by vehicles too heavy for it. A single ten-ton truck, particularly in the spring, will tear a light road to pieces. All need as much annual care as would be given to any equipment. Excessive upkeep results from improper use. One of the chief arguments for supervision of the total state mileage by the state highway departments is the conservation of highway investments by experts.

No formula holds good for every part of the country. Swampy sections require heavier roads than do others. But, on the other hand, there are sections where relatively light roads will carry major traffic.

Research will undoubtedly develop better surfaces at low cost; many engineers feel that investigations will reveal values in local materials and soils that will provide very low cost surfaces to get the farmer out of the mud in parts of the country that are too sparsely settled to justify great outlays.

It is not intended to deny that heavy massive roads are desirable in their proper place, but to proceed on the general theory that the entire surfaced road system of the country should be of this manufacture is false. The country cannot possibly afford such a system. Such a policy can be pushed to the extreme limit of the national economy only at the expense of those sections of the country which will then get no serviceable roads whatever.

The extremely worth while movement of state control of highway systems is being negated in a measure through the veto power on state plans to be carried out by Federal aid. Since Federal Aid roads more or less approximate state highway systems the Bureau of Public Roads has become, in effect, dictator of the state road systems.

The seeming refutation of this dictatorship charge by the action of certain states in the expenditure of PWA funds would seem to be due mainly to temporary revolts in states where it was insisted that employment was the primary need at the moment. Political pressure made it expedient for the Bureau to give in. There was also a clause in the regulations which made it possible for a state where ninety per cent of the Federal Aid system had been "improved" to divert part of the fifty per cent allotted to main roads to the secondary system. This was true in Pennsylvania, which until recently has been spending lavishly on her main roads.

One change that will surely have to be made in most cities is going to require popular education and firm administration. It is impossible to find a justification for free parking on expensive road surfaces built to accommodate moving traffic. The New Jersey report estimated that it was costing the cities there $25-30,000 a mile to provide parking places on both sides of the streets. In many cities the cost is higher. Municipally owned parking lots where a small fee is charged have been offered as one solution.

Never before has it been so necessary in America to examine every penny of governmental expenditure with care. If the highway financial question was the most important in the field in 1928, as Dr. Lutz declared, it is equally pressing now. A reorganization of local, state and Federal highway administration seems imperative.

And behind every phase of the whole question—whether it be the types of surface improvements necessary, the equitable distribution of traffic costs, or the methods of fairly apportioning the highway costs—stands the urgent need for a research body that is unbiased by commercial or construction affiliation of any kind.

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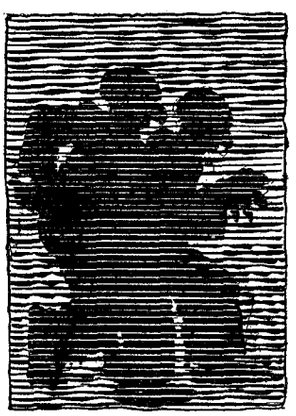
Taxation as an Economic Control

By James R. Trowbridge

What to do with our wealth of surplus raw materials? A plan for their control by taxation different from any produced by the New Deal is discussed by the President of the Franklin Savings Bank of New York.

TWO major questions have raised their heads during this recent period of depression; both are fundamental, both, I believe, interdependent. We are faced, on the one hand, by a surplus of natural products and raw materials, and, on the other, by unemployment and a consequent decrease in purchasing power, which makes the surplus even greater. How can we guard permanently against a recurrence of these two major misfortunes? One solution which I believe warrants extended discussion seeks to capitalize individual initiative and ambition, to utilize the truths which we have found through trial and error, to conform to the laws of supply and demand, to keep Government out of business and reduce bureaucracy, to avoid tinkering with the monetary system and to adhere to the principle of sound money as we have developed it over a long period of years. Its goal is to provide employment for all by turning our energies successively away from waste into profitable channels, and at the same time to give opportunity for individual advancement, which has been the basic philosophy of this country.

While most of the earth's surface is known to us, we are still groping our way in the realm of human activities. Through the experience of countless generations we have discovered a number of economic truths, as the gold miner slowly gathers his grains of precious metal from endless sifting of courser sands, and these we cannot afford to lose or disregard, but we still suffer from recurring troubles. Through the fog, however, our problems slowly seem to take shape and define themselves, and the forms of Surplus Production and Unemployment begin to assume the vague appearance of economic Siamese Twins.



Though we shall consider the problem of surplus first, the other must always stand before it in importance. The greatest value of the recent years has been the lesson that our industrial machine is out of adjustment and headed for a breakdown unless employment is provided for all, and unless consumption is assured for what we produce. That the very logic and insistent pressure of events is forcing us to concern ourselves with the welfare of every human being is a most encouraging thought for the future of society.

We seem to be carried along on a tremendous current of many forces which derive their power from the daily activities of our immense population, from our stores of natural resources—such as coal, oil, water power and the fertility of our soil—and from our great accumulations of capital through the years, whether of plant or of money. At times these forces bring us to great prosperity, and at other times they waste themselves in unwieldy surplus, and we are faced with the strange paradox of want and plenty side by side, and no way of satisfying one with the other. If we could only find some way of controlling and directing this huge aggregate of power we ought to have an instrument to raise our standards of living far beyond anything we have known.

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At the time of the Civil War in this country there was an enormous surplus of bank notes—many of them worthless. National banks were organized to issue a new kind of note with real security behind it. The old, undesirable notes were taxed out of existence. Taxation is our most powerful economic weapon. Why not use it now, not simply for revenue, but also to guide and control these forces? Why not take a troublesome product like oil, and, whenever we have too great a surplus, after a fixed date in the near future, tax any oil taken out of the earth to the extent of, say, ten cents a barrel until excess production has been curbed and the surplus reduced to a satisfactory figure? There would be no processing tax to be paid by someone else. The man or company that adds to the present surplus of oil, and so to our oil troubles, is the one to be taxed. If a ten-cent tax did not prove enough to hold down production, let the tax be twenty-five cents or more if necessary, until the national oil inventory had been reduced to a satisfactory figure. Such a figure might perhaps be the average stock on hand over a period of years. Thereafter the tax would be such an amount as experience showed to be adequate to keep production down to consumption, such tax to be adjusted quarterly, or as frequently as conditions required. If, after a satisfactory reduction of stocks on hand, it were found that production was no greater than consumption no tax would then be

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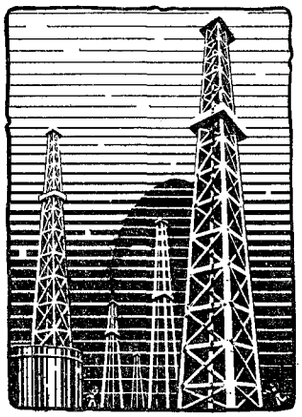

necessary, but the chances would seem to be that at least some tax might be a continuing necessity, to act as a brake upon the excess flow of oil.

The threat of excessive supplies and future over-production being removed, oil prices would stand up. The producer, thus assured of a stabilized market, could well afford to pay the tax, without which his market would be ruined, just as it always has been in the past when production has run wild. Allotments would be unnecessary and prices would once more be fixed by demand, except insofar as the supply might be affected by changes in the amount of the tax. Without fixing the price, the Government would always be in a position to influence it. Far better for the producer to pay a tax of ten or twenty-five cents a barrel and get, say, a dollar for it than to get but fifty cents for a tax-free barrel.

The producer would make a return of his production just as he does of his income, and would be taxed accordingly, with proper penalties for false returns. Bureaucracy would be reduced to a minimum and the wasting of this natural resource would cease.

It is true that we have oil regulation today, by allotment, but it is questionable whether the present arrangement can be permanent, nor does it lend itself to the control of other kinds of surpluses. The tax here suggested would apply under all conditions. New states might come into production; new sources of oil, such as coal, might be found; new forms or amounts of consumption might develop; but an adjustable tax would always maintain control. Today we use or export a total of about one billion barrels a year and have on hand about one third of a year's supply. A substantial reduction of that inventory figure and a reduction of production, also through allotment, have sent the price of crude oil up from a low figure of twenty-five cents a barrel last May to a price of ninety-four cents early this year. A smaller stock on hand, with the same demand, would doubtless send it higher, or the same stock with increased consumption. Whatever stock-on-hand was considered desirable, or whatever price level, by adjusting the tax it could be achieved, assuming, of course, that the potential flow of our wells continues. If it does not, and if supplies fail us, there will be no problem of surplus and the tax will automatically disappear.

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Let us assume that about 300,000,000 to 350,000,000 barrels of oil would be an adequate stock on hand. The tax might be made to apply when supplies reached the higher figure and continued until they had been reduced to the lower. Such a spread might be better than a rigid control figure of 325,000,000 barrels. With a fixed figure supplies would tend to hover just above or below the established line, requiring frequent application and removal of the tax. With a spread as indicated the tax would be steadier.

And there would be no monopoly for present producers. The field would always be open to newcomers, as heretofore. But if such a newcomer started to create an undesirable surplus the tax would be applied, to him and to all other producers, in like measure.

If new uses or markets were found for oil the production might increase to supply the increased demand, but no tax would be levied, no matter how great the flow, unless and until supplies began to pile up above the control figure. Until then there would be no unwieldy surplus and no problem. Some cheap method of extracting oil from coal or shale might be discovered, but it would not affect the plan. The public might get a cheaper product, but the control would be the same.

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Oil production offers a particularly favorable opportunity for testing the whole idea of the control of surplus through taxation, which could easily be demonstrated in this field before trying to apply it to other raw products. This is so because we have today a Federal tax on its principal finished product—gasoline. Let enough of this tax be shifted to the raw product—petroleum—to restrain output, instead of using the allotment plan. There would be no loss of revenue to the Government, no appreciable increase in cost to the consumer, but the brakes on over-production would be applied at the source. Today the state and Federal taxes on gasoline undoubtedly reduce its consumption, but they are paid at the filling station and do not directly restrain production. This is shown by the fact that excess supplies of both crude oil and gasoline pile up between the filling station and the oil well. The restraint should be at the well. Then after demand has been satisfied, the tax, or restraint, will be directly on the producer.

The copper surplus, and every other important surplus of raw materials, would be controlled in like manner.

Of course, if it were proposed now to apply such a method to farm products, such as wheat and cotton, there would presumably be a loud and immediate protest, if nothing more, with all kinds of political complications. The farmer feels that he is overtaxed already. But let it be tried out first on industrial raw products like oil, copper, coal, cement, etc., let the farmer see that it would be possible to raise crop prices in the same way, to the level of industrial prices, or the costs of those things which he must buy, and the decision might then safely be left to him. For, like the producer of oil, it would be far better for him to pay such a tax—be it five cents, ten cents, or more if necessary—if his taxed wheat brought, say, a dollar and twenty-five cents a bushel as against perhaps fifty cents for wheat untaxed. Because it should be entirely possible to put the price of wheat higher than that by making the tax severe enough to threaten the market with a subnormal supply. Only experience would show just how much of a tax was necessary to adjust production to consumption.

There should be no tax against supplies now on hand nor against grain in the ground. It would be a notice and a warning that the next planting must be reduced unless the planter was prepared to meet this added cost of production. All grain on hand or in the ground would benefit, for such a tax would tend to cut down future additions until present excesses had been worked off, and with such a prospect prices would respond exactly as they do now when the threat of serious crop failures brings a higher market.

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No more practical way, moreover, could be found to encourage diversification of crops. With the handwriting for the coming season so clearly on the wall the farmer would turn to those products of the soil which were tax-free. When the carry-over had been reduced to some predetermined figure—say, two hundred million bushels—the tax would be reduced to such a figure as would stabilize production, or if possible, dropped altogether, until the threat of a recurrence of an unwieldy surplus brought it into action again. There would, of course, be such an individual exemption as would allow the farmer to produce for his own family without tax.

Such a plan would meet the situation so clearly described in one of our leading farm papers, as follows:

"For the last ten years and more the Iowa farmer has worked long hours, depleted the fertility of his soil and lowered his standard of living in order to produce enormous crops of corn and trainload after trainload of fat hogs.

"In common with the rest of the nation's farmers, he has produced far more than the market would buy at a fair price. The result of all this labor and sacrifice has been to drive prices further down as surplus stocks of farm products were piled higher and higher.

"Over these years every thinking farmer has realized how idiotic it was for him and his neighbors to work themselves to death and to squander the fertility of their soil in order to produce more food than the American consumer ever had eaten even in the most prosperous times and far more food than Europe was willing or able to accept and pay for under present international conditions.

"Yet the individual farmer was helpless. If he cut down production his neighbor might increase his acreage. Some plan was needed that would make it possible for all farmers to work shorter hours, farm less land and produce no more than the consumers were willing to pay a fair price for."

The foregoing quotation is taken from an article favoring the present AGRA program, but it illustrates clearly the problem of the farmer.

Presumably, to accomplish such a plan Congress would have to pass a law naming the products and raw materials to be controlled in this way—perhaps a dozen, more or less, after testing the plan with oil—and providing for the appointment of a commission such as the Interstate Commerce Commission to determine the conditions under which a tax would be assessed, its amount and its duration. The objectives would be so clear and the results so obvious—viz., the reduction of surplus and the stabilization of price—that the whole operation would be at all times in the limelight. All producers in a given field would be treated alike and there would be no favored interests and no opportunity for the log-rolling which has been associated with tariff schedules.

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It is assumed, of course, that any products taxed in this way would be protected by adequate tariff duties from foreign competition. And whether foreign markets were open to our products or closed to them would make no difference. The plan is flexible and would apply in any event to a surplus.

Such taxes would not cut each producer's quota pro rata. It would be the high-cost producers, such as the owners of sub-marginal lands, who would drop out, as they would feel the tax most severly. Farmers no longer expect the Government to make a market for everything they can raise, and realize that the inefficient farms must go. There is even talk today of having the Government buy up 50,000,000 excess acres.

It may be said that to limit production in any field would limit employment in that field. If the plan does not provide employment and consumption it will not be a solution of our problem.

In using the term unemployment, however, it should be carefully defined. It is said that in this country there are always about 2,000,000 not working by reason of incapacity, travel, unwillingness to leave home, indolence, etc., in addition to those too old or too young; in other words, through no maladjustment of industry. They may require attention in other ways, but industry need not be charged with their care. This figure of 2,000,000, accordingly, might be used as the control figure. Unemployment for more than that number would then be considered the danger signal.

First, as to limiting employment by curbing production. A given industry, like oil, in a healthy condition can provide only so much employment, with its resultant consuming power, for other products as well as its own. If through over-stimulation it creates a surplus it may temporarily employ more people, but eventually the surplus, overhanging the market, will demoralize that industry and lead to wage cuts and reduction of working forces, which will react in turn on other industries as well. Better to have a healthy oil industry with a proper number of individuals satisfactorily employed than a depressed industry with a larger number partially employed. The latter would furnish a very anaemic consuming power for any products. While in a depressed industry like copper mining any tax would be undesirable today, with employment already at a minimum, even though there is too large a surplus now, still any increase of production might well be the signal for taxing until present unwieldy supplies had been cut by the rising consumption attendant on better times.

But if we steer some of the great economic forces away from the fields in which they have wasted themselves in over-production there must be other channels in which they can flow, and there must be other occupation for that excess labor which they have temporarily employed to its temporary advantage but to the disadvantage of the rest of the community. It may well be that these forces will make their own channel, just as the stream diverted by engineers from its old course is sometimes allowed to dig a new bed for itself. Surplus capital and labor, diverted by taxation from excess production, might, unaided, be capable of occupying themselves in new lines. Suppose, for example, that large and healthy bodies of consumers had been established in the oil business, in cement, in copper, in coal, in cotton, in wheat, etc. Capital and labor, with such a good market assured, might be

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willing without more ado to provide entirely new products, such as air-conditioning, for all of us, stream-lined trains, airplanes for the millions and other things for the further raising of our standards of living.

But, if such inducements are not in themselves sufficient, taxation (or the absence of it) offers itself as a powerful weapon or instrument by which to guide the great industrial current in which we live and move. For while taxation is generally used for revenue there is plenty of precedent for its use as an economic control. Reference has already been made to the tax on bank notes, and through our tariff taxes we have held off foreign competition and offered an inviting tax-free field to our own industries. To this untaxed production capital and labor have flowed on a vast scale. Indeed it might be said that tariff duties have been really a surplus tax, restraining the surplus production of other countries which would otherwise have swamped our market.

To take another illustration, which was unfortunate in its results but which shows what a power we may bring to bear on the course of affairs, there is the case of tax-exempted building in New York City at the height of the boom. The inducement was so great to overbuild when taxation on new building was temporarily suspended that capital and labor poured into this field on an exaggerated scale. That same kind of power more intelligently exercised might serve to send these forces into undertakings that would benefit and not harm us. It is said that a great canal across the northern part of Florida to connect the Atlantic Ocean with the Gulf of Mexico only awaits the return of better times. But what better time could there be than the present when employment is so badly needed? If for a limited time this project could be exempted from taxation, both Federal and local, it would offer itself in a new light. Should there not be an invitation for bids on this and similar projects on a basis which would guide our energies into these desirable channels? We would furnish additional employment and at the same time add to our national assets. Such a course, instead of putting the Government into a construction job, would encourage private capital to do the work.

Various other stimulants have been offered by our Government in the past to private enterprise. Subsidies have built up steamship lines and have given us the best air transportation in the world. Land grants and other aids have opened up the West, bringing in our great transcontinental railroads, and millions of European emigrants and European capital. With many of these stimulants are associated legends of financial scandals to warn us of the risks involved. With a century and a half of experience, with good results and bad, we ought to find ways of directing the great industrial stream into desirable channels. And it should be possible, through an unemployment control figure, to keep such stimulants within bounds. When unemployment rose above such a figure the stimulants would be applied. When it had been reduced again and everyone was working, they would not be offered further.

Employment at good wages is a fundamental need, in the interest of everyone. For this reason we are steadily becoming more accurate in our statistics on the number out of work, and we must develop this census still further to serve as our principal guide in industrial control. Full employment will, of course, still leave plenty of industrial problems to be solved, but taxation may well be the first step toward a planned economy.

In the opening up of our central and western states employment was so stimulated that in addition to providing work for the entire population we attracted unprecedented numbers from abroad. While there are no more such areas to be settled and developed, there are countless wants to be supplied, and too many of our taxes are acting as brakes on the kind of production which we need. If, for example, for every dollar raised by taxing surplus production we could lift a dollar of taxation from our electric light and power companies, we would cheapen electricity in the home, increase the demand for electrical household appliances and increase employment to supply that demand. And more important still, we would lower the costs of all the innumerable products which use electric power in the making, and so broaden their market and lead them to employ more people to supply it.

It ought to be possible, in such ways, so to increase the demand for labor as to advance steadily the wages which it would command, now that immigration is limited, and thus continue to raise standards of living for all.

The same Government agency which was charged with the control of surplus production might well keep ready at hand at all times a list of those enterprises to which capital might be invited, when employment began to languish, either through exemption of taxation for a period, or by such other stimulants as experience had shown to be effective and safe. Admittedly, the utmost vigilance would be required here to avoid favoritism, but competitive bidding for undertakings made attractive as suggested should help to safeguard these projects. It is interesting to note that exemptions from land and income taxes are prominent among the inducements which Australia is today offering for the development of some of its territory.

If it be objected that conflicts might arise between state and Federal taxation reference might be made to the interesting suggestions recently made by Mark Graves, head of the Tax Commission of the State of New York, for coördinating such levies.

As will be seen, the plan ascribes to other causes the ills which critics charge to the gold standard. It aims to locate and remedy the trouble where it is, in those fields of production in which it so largely originates and from which it so widely spreads. Not in the monetary system which measures our activities, but in those activities themselves. However, with it there should undoubtedly go such a control of credit as Dr. Lionel D. Edie has advocated in his book *"The Banks and Prosperity."* In these ways and by these means we may hope to guide and control the otherwise overwhelming current of industrial life.

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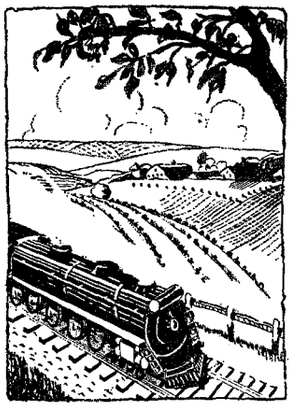
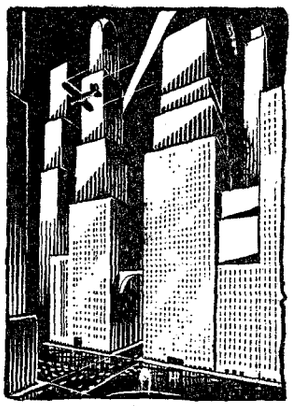


Talk of the Nation



Lost in the Wind

AIRWAY MAPS, how to use and follow them, are apparently as much a mystery to the advanced and adventurous young ladies who pilot their own planes as were railroad timetables to an older generation of the same sex. A young pilot (male) of our acquaintance tells us, speaking aeronautically, that few women up in the air ever know where they are.

Of the recent new evidence for the prosecution, we like best the story of the lady pilot who took off solo from Washington to fly to her home in Pittsburgh. The way was presumably one with which she was quite familiar. She flew and flew, and flew, but no Pittsburgh. The lady bird began to admit that she might be lost. Then her fuel began to run low. Finally she was fortunate enough to spy a small municipal airport. She landed thereon in considerable relief. She asked for gas, and then somewhat casually, where she was. She was in turn chagrined to learn that she was in the depths of western Pennsylvania, and relieved that her own identity was apparently unknown to the airport attendant. She was somewhat upset the next moment, however, by having the attendant ask her name. It seemed like sudden inspiration to the fair aviatrix when she heard herself taking and speaking the name of one of her pet and hated rivals. It was all the same to the attendant. He walked into the Operations Office and in a moment returned with the airport register and asked the lady pilot to sign. She did. The forgery, so it is said, is an excellent one.

High, however, as is the feminine record for getting lost aloft, the first attempt of the Army Air Corps pilots to fly the mails produced not a few misadventures in this direction, even when they didn't terminate disastrously.

There is the case of a certain young Lieutenant X — — — who took off from Newark, N. J., at the height of that recent bad spell, with a cargo of mail plainly marked for Cleveland. It was raining, and then it was raining harder. It went on like that for several hours until finally our young Lieutenant decided to give up the rain filled skies in which he was palpably lost and seek better directions on the ground.

He came down out of the darkness and the rain, narrowly missing a house and landed on a farm in New England. He desired only some new hint as to the approximate direction to his destination. Once he had that he intended to take off at once to try again. He sought his information from an elderly and greatly frightened New England agrarian whom he finally coaxed, lantern-accompanied, out of the farm house.

"Where's Cleveland?" he asked with all the impatience of one (to hell with the rain) who would be off immediately. *Neither rain, nor snow. . . .*

"Cleveland's dead!" said his frightened informant. "Roosevelt's President."

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What! No Nuts?

SHORTLY BEFORE NOON they begin coming into the drug store. There are twelve tables, but one waitress can easily serve the persons who will sit there. America has become a nation of perchers, and those who rush and those who dawdle alike find their lunch-hour relaxation seated on a swivel stool, elbow digging into elbow.

Doubtless the confirmed drug store luncher could not eat in a quiet place. He would miss the familiar smells and sounds. The mingled odors of pastry, country sausage, chopped steak, fried potatoes, pickles and oranges. The rattle of crockery. The sputter of the flame under the shiny coffee container. The staccato cries of "Ham on rye Russian working," "Chocolate malted double," and "Special lots of butter." The talk of the counterman.

The combination soda-jerker and ham-slinger knows his business. Part of his stock in trade is the banter which falls from his lips with the same ease which characterizes his lightning movements as he catches toast, fills a coffee cup, and whisks glass, silver and napkin before you—in one, all-inclusive gesture.

He knows most of the faces before him as well as he knows his spigots and rinsers and mixers, for none of the owners of the faces would think of going to the drug store around the corner. This is *their* drug store. The sandwiches are of generous size, Jo's malted is heavenly, and for the price of a good *table d'hôte* luncheon they can order, course by course, enough rich food to make dinner, at three o'clock, seem a remote contingency.

The stenographer can say things to the countermen that she would not think of saying to her boy friends, and she will listen to talk for which her escort would be slapped. The counterman is fresh, but you don't have to squelch him, for there's a counter between you. He is the small-town drug store cowboy who has learned the drug store's most profitable trade.

Furthermore, he is sympathetic.

"I know just how you feel," he remarks to a woman who is painfully sipping the lunch counter's evanescent, sure-fire cure for the medial pains that come in the wake of drug store luncheons. "Just drink it down fast, and you won't even taste it!"

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Poor girl! She'll stop in at five o'clock for a hair-of-the-dog-that-bit-her—in the form of a fresh strawberry soda! Tomorrow she will be back for a cream cheese, jelly, nut and mayonnaise sandwich on whole wheat bread, and her usual hot fudge short cake, which consists of sponge cake, plus chocolate ice cream, plus hot fudge sauce, plus whipped cream, plus a cherry. (What! No nuts?)

We sat at a drug store table the other day and ate an American cheese sandwich, scandalizing the waitress by stipulating that there be no lettuce or mayonnaise. Twice she came back, not believing that we really wanted no dessert, not understanding that if we cared to pay forty cents we would add a dime to it and treat ourselves to a table cloth and a real napkin. We weakened finally.

"All right," we said. "Sliced oranges and bananas."

We had to repeat the order.

"I'll see if I can get it for you." This dubiously.

She went into a huddle with one of the countermen, and returned.

"Is it on the menu?"

We countered. "That bowl next to the cocoanut cake is filled with bananas and oranges."

"Ye-es." Off she went.

In three minutes we actually were eating plain fresh fruit—in a drug store!

The waitress eyed the check uncertainly. She put the problem up to a sandwich maker.

"How much for sliced oranges and bananas?"

"Hell! I dunno! Is it on the menu?"

"No."

"Oh, charge it just as if it was a banana split."

For the same twenty cents we could have had a concoction boasting of three flavors of ice cream sitting astride two half-bananas and covered with chocolate sauce, mint syrup, nuts, cherry and whipped cream—everything, in fact, except pepper relish. The waitress was scandalized thinking we had been gypped.

Matters might be worse. Imagine the state of affairs if wines and liquors were sold in drug stores. We can just see three pert stenographers, a junior law clerk, two office boys and a salesman starting off with a glass of sherry or (God forbid) a couple of Old-fashioneds. Would the wine or the whiskey take kindly to the Dill pickle *motif* of the luncheon to follow? Let the legislators consider this point if they ever have to determine whether or not drug stores should be permitted to sell firewater! Let them eat Special Sandwich No. 3, with all its accoutrements, top that off with a hunk of chocolate cream pie, and then decide whether anything will go with that delightful mixture excepting a brisk walk, a quart of water, and a stern resolution never again to go to a drug store for anything but aspirin tablets.

The acute indigestion mortality rate among drug store habitués must be high. "Bicarb—make it strong!" is as familiar a refrain as the sing-song "Ham on rye and malted." The Bicarbonate of Soda tin is no household affair, but a huge container, for heavy drinking and drug store lunching have a way of combining into an urgent need for palliatives.

The hapless victim gazes listlessly into space as the counterman puts two heaping teaspoonful of the life-saving drug into a glass, fizzes it, and sets it down with a glass of water to drown the taste—all for a nickel. I have seen a man swallow the salty dose, order the traditional hamonryerussiandressing-maltedchocolateicecreamhorror, smuggle in another nickel's worth of Bicarb, and speculate with his neighbor on the possibility that coffee might disagree with him.

If we ever inherit a drug store, we shall name it "Ye Chocolate Inn," and our competitive advertising will feature:

Every form of chocolate known to science
Try our *delicious* ham and celery salad with chocolate sauce
and a side dish of D A H L I A bulbs smothered in onions
Finish off with our *luscious* chocolate éclair special
(just the thing for that headache)
you'll like the maple syrup in which it floats—
and don't forget—
there are nuts all over it

and KATSUP is yours for the asking!

Meanwhile, we're heading for a tea room to order a vegetable luncheon with poached egg. And if there's spinach—so much the better!

●

Good Old Shelf-Stale

THE PEOPLE WHO WRITE advertising copy are men of infinite resource. They have to be—the art of persuading people to buy is one of the finest and most intricate in the world. New and subtle urges must constantly be thought up, playing on fear, romance, profit, envy and all the other human emotions there are. If you think the trick is easy, just because the alluring messages read smoothly and seem to flow along, get into a huddle with your own typewriter and try it some time. You will wonder how the boys do it.

For example, a snappy bit of copy, written with all the rules in mind, playing on every emotion yet discovered, may be absolutely and entirely haywire as far as pulling power is concerned—simply because the public fails to get the point. Just this happened to one of the smarter talents in a national agency not long ago. Told to get something new on a well known line of ready made desserts, he sat down and after tremendous thought produced the phrase "shelf-stale." It was a good idea. Everyone in the agency liked it. The program for weeks ahead was arranged around it. "Shelf-stale," of course, was bad. You were warned, cajoled, threatened and implored not to buy anything that was that way. Horrible things would happen to you if you did. Your dinner, digestion and social prestige would be ruined.

Well, the idea went over—but not entirely the way it had been expected to. At least not with that part of the public that answers questionnaires by radio solicitation. A survey on the program, conducted by the agency, revealed clearly enough that the public was impressed—but at least thirty per cent of them wrote in to tell how much they relished that wonderful "shelf-stale" dessert the company was putting out!

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Outlook Book Choice of the Month

Reviewed by Robert Cantwell

SEVEN GOTHIC TALES, by Isak Dinesen. With an Introduction by Dorothy Canfield, $2.50. 464 pp. New York: Harrison Smith and Robert Haas.

"I WILL NOT be one person again," one of the characters in this book announces, "I will be many. . . . Never again will I have my heart and my whole life bound up with one woman, to suffer so much." She had been the greatest singer in the world; she now became a milliner and the leader of the rebels at Lucrene, a prostitute in Rome, a devout Royalist in France, and her story, of course, reached its climax in the coming together of these worlds through the meeting of men who had loved her in each one. The anonymous author of this book, a Continental European who writes in English, seems a similarly complex personality, a satirist, a romantic, a worldly-wise, epigrammatic writer of horror stories, an individual whose loyalties and background can scarcely be guessed from his published work. "Seven Gothic Tales" does not fit very well into any of the rather broad categories to which we commonly assign fiction; it has little in common with the great bulk of writing that is being done now; it might be the work of some isolated, careful craftsman who never heard of the War or of modern psychology, who has lived apart from the currents of modern culture but who has turned a sensitive and skeptical, peculiarly modern, intelligence on the world of Balzac.

It is essentially a Balzacian world that Isak Dinesen, as I suppose we must call him, presents in these tales, a world that hovers uncertainly between the natural and the supernatural, one in which coincidences are shamelessly and engagingly frequent, where aristocrats, wise old maids and passionate young men and women grow entangled in the most fantastic intrigues without ever losing their composure or their wit. And though the unknown author approaches this world with an air of frivolity—no, with a sort of romantic flippancy—he lets you know very clearly that he has great reservoirs of factual information about it, and a real knowledge of the times, no matter if he gives little such, in a direct sense, in his book. Most of these seven tales—they are too long and full to be called stories, and too far out of the ordinary to be called novels—are laid in the 19th Century, in Denmark, France and Italy; and though the characters are generally noblemen "of great wealth and position," according to the romantic formula, you are not allowed to forget that the French Revolution is a living memory, that Europe is in turmoil, or that the supports of this privileged class have been roughly shaken. Whatever the author's politics may be, he at least understands how deeply events of the character of the French Revolution penetrated into the social life, even in countries far removed. But in this rare book, even history becomes fanciful—when the fantastic plots are tied to the realities of 19th Century politics the complications become no more real, the events merely become strange.

It is a strange book, however, often a beautiful one, always amusing, but principally memorable, I think, for its strangeness. How could anyone, really living in these times, plot a story like "The Flood at Norderney"? Here four high-spirited people, a Cardinal, an old maid, a young girl and a disillusioned young man, are marooned in a hay-loft, waiting for the water to rise and engulf them. Meanwhile they follow the example of Sheherezade and the refugees from the plague at Florence, and entertain one another with stories. Here is Miss Nat-og-Dag, a very famous maiden lady who has lived such an intensely virtuous life that she is now able to think of herself as having been a shameless wanton; she can live over her fictitious past, the author tells us, and remind herself of her sins, precisely because she has been so virtuous, "with the ecstasy of a little boy who gallops through the great races of the world on his rocking horse." With her is Caritas, who has been raised in a perverse household, surrounded by young men who took no interest in her, until she has not merely lost her pride in her sex, but has come to doubt that she really exists. Jonathan Maersk is a heart-broken young man whose tragedy has been the exact opposite: his very misery established new styles in the fashionable world, and every attempt he made to free himself was taken as a "gesture" and swiftly imitated. The old Cardinal, the last member, grows more and more mysterious as the night wears on and as the two old people tap a keg of gin that has been left with them, his real identity being revealed when the water comes through the floor. They talk, as four drowning geniuses might talk, about God and human nature, Louis Philippe and the bourgeoisie, St. Peter and the friend of the thief who was hanged with Christ; good, witty, scandalous talk, its sting half-hidden in its humor and its humor always threatened by skillful reminders of the peril of the four characters.

"The Monkey" is even more extravagant, a story that is guaranteed, as Dorothy Canfield says, to addle your wits and to leave you with a feeling that you have not quite forgotten it—elsewhere the author tells us that the inexplicable is one of the ingredients of charm. "The Monkey" begins with a young officer who has become involved in such a scandal that he can only clear his name by marrying at once; the marriage is arranged, the girl selected, when the girl herself raises objections not unlike those the young man might once have had.

(*Continued on page* 58)

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BOOKS

(*Continued from page* 56)

They trick her, the young officer and his aged aunt, with the aid of a love potion, champagne and other unfair advantages; they trick this athletic young woman in what would be a hilarious scene were it not for an undercurrent of perversity and horror that runs through the entire story. These two specimens may suggest somewhat the quality of Isak Dinesen's imagination, the involved nature of his plots as well as his isolation from other literary figures of this time; the peculiar poetry of these stories, the quality that gives them their value, cannot be communicated in these brief summaries; it is too elusive and personal; it can only be gotten from the book itself.

It is easier to exaggerate the virtues of "Seven Gothic Tales" than it is to place the book accurately; it is the sort of work which, if it makes any appeal to your imagination at all, is likely to capture it entirely. The stories are alike in their waywardness and unexpectedness; only one, "The Old Chevalier" is concise and concentrated and may for that reason live longer than the others; it is a sort of summing-up of many masculine sentimental indecisions. "The Dreamers" and "The Supper at Elsinore," while delightful stories in their own right, and strong enough to carry the reputations of several romancers, seem a little below the level of the best; by the time you reach them you have grown a little tired of continued extravagance and long for solid facts and less gothic sequences. But no story in the book equals the mystery of the author—what modern writer can write such prose and attach so little importance to it? Whoever Isak Dinesen is, he can pull all the wires that writers of romance are supposed to pull; he can build up a mournful, shuddering atmosphere and tear it down with a few mocking words at his own expense; he can build up a solid and even moving characterization and sacrifice it for a witty phrase. If you can imagine such writing as a sophisticated and urbane James Branch Cabell might do, if he possessed a sense of humor, it might suggest something of the quality of this strange work, or it might be even closer to the mark to think of Balzac rewritten by Max Beerbohm, with the solidity and lightness so wilfully entangled you cannot tell one from the other.

Books and Reviews

THE NEW BOOKS are largely political, beginning with "The New Dealers" (Simon and Schuster) which is set up as being another "Washington Merry-Go-Round," of the Roosevelt Administration. It has this in common with the earlier book, the author is anonymous. There are few disclosures in it, little that an attentive newspaper reader couldn't have guessed, and its slight stings are effectively counteracted by its pronounced pro-Roosevelt bias. The biographies are mechanical records of past achievements; the scandals are modest; better ones are told wherever a few citizens get together. The author is somewhat affected in concealing his identity, if the exposures he makes here are all he has to hide. But it may be that he is protecting himself from the public rather than from the people he is muck-raking.

Matthew Josephson's "The Robber Barons" (Harcourt Brace) is a broad picture of the rise of the great American fortunes, a readable pulling-together of about all that has leaked out about the financiers. As a picture of the men who have ruled America, it cleans out some of those decaying illusions which are now found only in histories and in the editorial columns of the more backward newspapers; as a history of the period between 1861 and 1901 it performs a similar service, if only in the way in which it subordinates the careers of politicians to the careers of the men who controlled them. "Who Rules America?" by John McConaughty (Longmans Green) is a passionate denunciation of the holders of great wealth, written from the point of view of an old-fashioned, militant liberal, but its passion is heartening after Josephson's cool analysis. Josephson gives you facts that set your teeth grinding in rage, and refrains from comment; McConaughty—who died before this book was finished—gives more of the emotion and less information to feed it. Since he begins at a earlier period the two books supplement each other in building up a formidable case; in a few instances, as in his account of the great strike of 1877, McConaughty throws a clear light on some of the happenings which are vague in the more important work.

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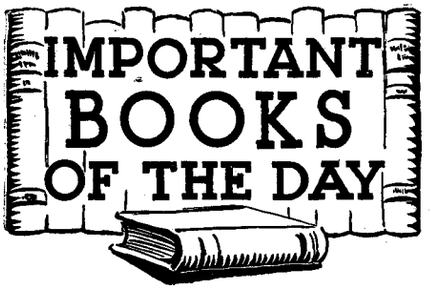

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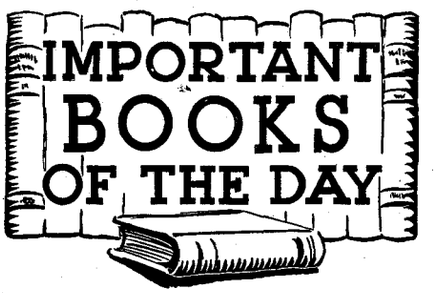
"I Went to Pit College" by Lauren Gilfillan (Viking) is a badly-titled record of an experience which has a good deal of meaning now—a young girl's exploration of a Pennsylvania mining town. Significant, that is, if you think of Miss Gilfillan responding to a deeper movement than she knew when she cut herself off, after her graduation from Smith College, to live with the workers, and if you think of her experience as being an expression of interest in the life of the masses which a great many other intellectuals have felt. She had no money and no friends, but she quickly got a young miner for a protector and got along with some success before the Communists ran her out of town as a "capitalist spy." Some of her adventures—her expulsion, for one—are a little ambiguous; sometimes she reminds you of the young women who formerly ran away to the city so they could get experience so they could be authors, but for the most part she puts her story across; you see her as cute, brave, resourceful, so greedy for her good story—which she got—that she was willing to sacrifice anything to get it.

William MacDonald's "The Menace of Recovery" (Macmillan) is an attack on the Roosevelt policies, written from the conservative point of view, valuable as a reference book, since it contains both an appendix and an index, usually lacking in attacks of this sort. Charles Beard's "The Idea of National Interest" (Macmillan) is an analysis of American foreign policy, very heavy and impressive, hard reading compared with the smooth prose of Professor Beard's histories, but providing figures on the international expansion of capital and the struggle for world markets that arouse more alarm for the future than Professor Beard expresses. Stuart Chase's "The Economy of Abundance" (Macmillan) is largely a repetition, in ever more colorful and ingenious form, of the ideas Mr. Chase has long propagandized, revolving, of course, around the fact that we have an elaborate producing plant which can supply our needs, but which is somehow not set to that purpose and which is variously crippled by the workings of the profit system. Mr. Chase is good at telling us how many factories, farms and railroads we have—or rather, how many there are in the country—and his imagination flowers



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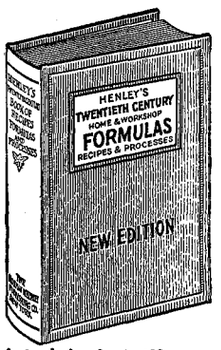

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when he tells us what this vast producing plant might do. But when he comes to explain why the system operates as it does, or how the new order is to be created, he sidesteps gracefully; he tells us again, in yet more striking terms, how many kilowatt hours we have. When he explains why the system hasn't changed, since the need is there and the transformation easy, he grows as vague as a technocrat, setting up his "economics of scarcity" as an explanation into which he can toss everything that gets in the way of his argument. Among his "technological imperatives" I note the statement that under planning "the United States and Canada will fall into one regional frame," which seems to be a rather nice way of saying that we ought to annex Canada. Things like that have been talked about before, but technological imperative and planning, vague as they are, are surely new and sweeter names for it.

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Talk of the Nation

(*Continued from page* 55)

Emergency College

ONE OF THE MOST INTERESTING relief measures in the East is being carried out in two suburban communities, Westchester and Nassau counties. A year ago this month the New York State authorities discovered a large body of unemployed college teachers, trained and capable men and women eager to serve but entirely unable to find opportunities. New York City, the nation's largest educational centre, had brought them together. They had spent money and time on equipping themselves. Educational institutes had made a heavy investment in their training. In the Depression, teaching jobs were as scarce as any other—in many respects, scarcer, for hard pressed colleges and universities were forced to cut their staffs down to skeleton proportions. The normal turnover of instructors, research assistants and junior professors was paralyzed.

Unfortunately, the universities had kept on turning out the same number of graduate students; many of them with Ph.D. degrees, others fully able to take positions on college faculties. Their training finished, there was nothing for them to do. "Ordinary" jobs

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were scarce as well; the good old days when the college graduate could find more humble work to tide him over a crisis were gone. Professional people, like others, must eat. Often enough, they are so rash as to get married, even to produce children. At the same time, people who went to college in more normal times were unable to do so now, because they could not pay the fees. Their appetite for education was just as brisk as ever, but they could not satisfy it by the time-honored method of entering an established college.

The situation was familiar. On the one hand, demand, on the other, supply; kept apart by a villainous money stringency. A rescuer was needed, to bring the two into each other's arms. The state was the obvious hero for the act. Armed with funds from the previous year's relief bond issue, leading educators decided on a benevolent and eminently practical plan. They would create new colleges, which students without money could attend, and where teachers without jobs could work. Granted that college education is desirable, benefits would flow to all concerned. Teachers would be employed. Young people would be educated. Society would benefit from both achievements, for not only would the teachers spend their earnings immediately (relief workers do not hoard), but the students would be kept from adding to an already overcrowded employment market. Finally, of course, it would receive the social profits that are expected to come from an educated as opposed to an ignorant citizenry. Agreement has always been general that such profits exist.

Two institutions were begun in the vicinity of New York, one in White Plains, the other on Long Island. Only teachers who could qualify for relief—that is, who could prove they were without resources—were hired. Incidentally, the authorities did not find any lack of qualified teaching material. Students who desired college training and who could prove they were unable to pay regular fees were enrolled. Faculty salaries were necessarily low at twenty dollars a week, but gratefully accepted.

Quarters were found, for the white Plains venture, in a high school building, where the college could meet after the regular incumbents were through with it. The Long Island institute was more fortunate in finding a deserted airplane hangar, where the ample roof height would presumably give the impression of lofty academic halls. Curriculum was limited to the most elementary first year college course; Freshman English, History I, Introduction to Civics, and the like. The emergency colleges were in no position to offer Tap Dancing, Eskimo Archaeology or the Appreciation of Spenser, although later a persistent rumor circulated that lectures were being given on Contract Bridge. Owing to the temporary nature of the experiment, little was said about degrees. Established colleges, however, have indicated that they will accept credits from the emergency centres, if and when the students are able to leave them for better things—a polite gesture that proves good will, if nothing else.

Neither place, of course, is much like a college. There are no fraternities. There is not even a campus. College spirit is accordingly weak. Undergraduates slipping into the warm benches of high school students can hardly be expected to feel very strongly about dear old Alma Mater. Dances, proms, smokers, rushes, all the traditional amusements of undergraduate life are missing. None of the students feels the impulse to tear the Dean's office door off its hinges, if only because there is no Dean and no office to show their mettle on. Neither is there a football team to root for. But in spite of obstacles, the students have shown some extra-curricular activity. In the White Plains institute, they recently achieved a dramatic production, selecting (perhaps deliberately) one of Eugene O'Neil's gloomier plays for their talents. Others have risen to organizing a basketball team, which plays the high school students, rightful owners of the building, gymnasium and equipment.

Perhaps the greatest handicap is the lack of individual contact between teachers and student body. Limitations of space and time prevent more than formal classroom meeting. Lectures must take place after normal hours, chiefly in the late afternoon and early evening. In established colleges, undergraduate classes meet almost entirely in the morning, leaving the long hours from lunch to dinner free for intellectual communion between man and man. The emergency college cannot offer anything comparable. Those delightful college friendships are hardly fostered under such conditions. The students must go without the contacts that figure so largely in conventional college life. In view of the present

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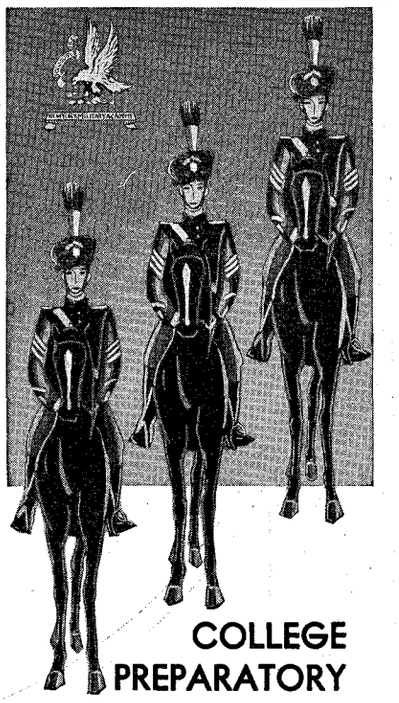

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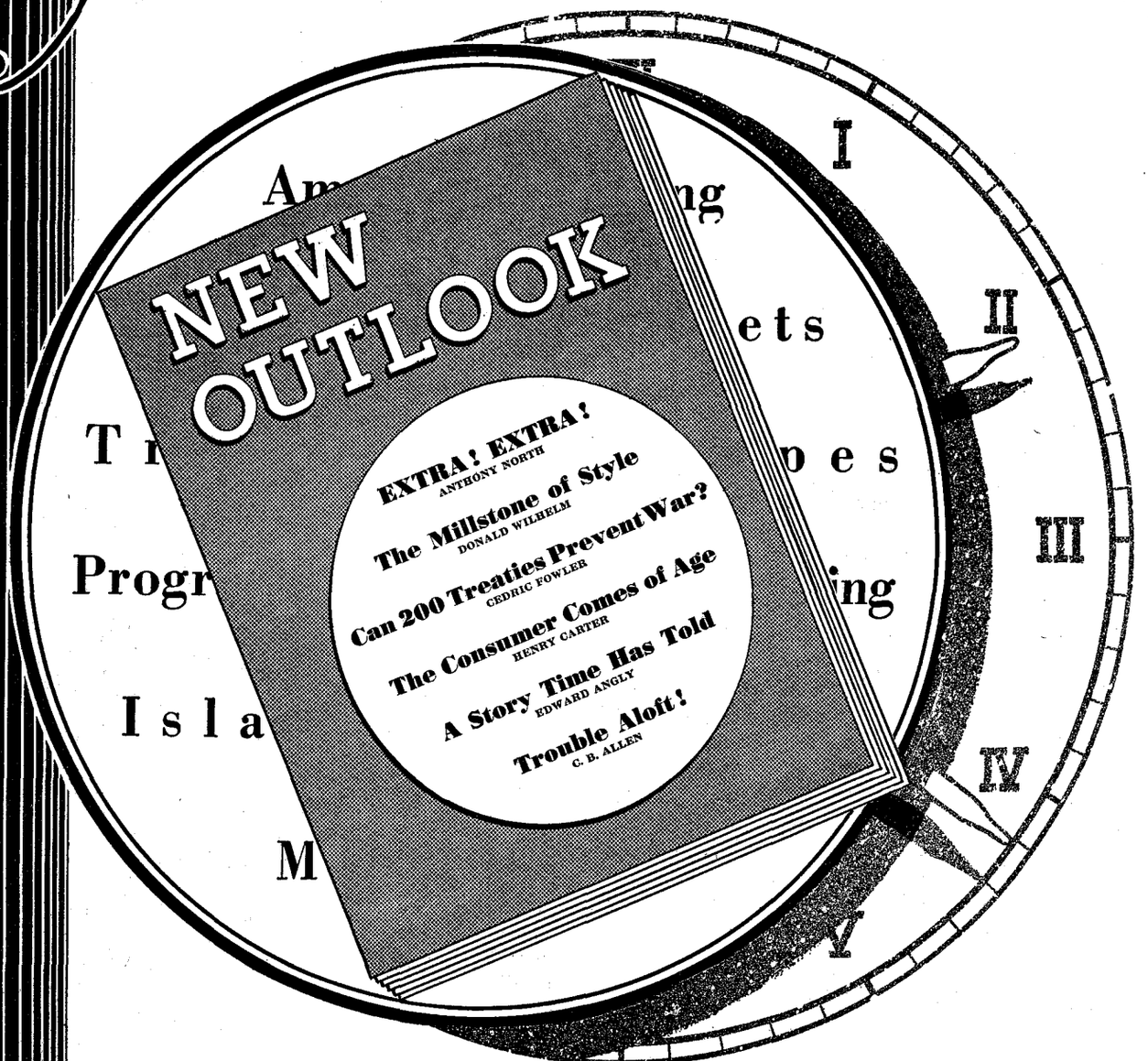

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emphasis on the personal touch in higher education, this is a pity.

Lack of library facilities is another difficulty in both studying and teaching. The students are expected to provide their own textbooks, and in view of their economic position, teaching must be confined more or less to what can be found in the texts. The long lists of required and recommended reading that professors like to issue for the dismay of their students are missing. Public libraries, already overtaxed with citizens pursuing the new leisure, are not adequate.

Teachers report the experience as valuable and interesting—aside from the morale gained in a regular position worthy of their abilities. Students are glad of the chance to secure something of the education that would otherwise be denied them. They work hard, seem to do their lessons promptly and meet tests and quizzes with commendable earnestness. Perhaps the absence of extra-curricular features helps them. In an abandoned airplane hangar, for example, there can hardly be much temptation to do anything else. No doubt when they grow up, they will send Junior off to Yale or Harvard with the traditional warning: "Remember, son, your father had to *struggle* for his education."

●

Surprise Visit

THE LOQUACITY—if you give them a chance—of interurban bus drivers, particularly those on the long, lonely runs who fancy themselves as born Parisian guides—is notorious. One of our correspondents traveling down from New England recently, just after the start of the Easter school-holidays, encountered one of these.

It was a two minute stop at a downtown corner passenger station in a New England town which reminded this driver that he had a story to tell. It was right at that corner the very night before he had picked up two frightened passengers—two sisters who were attending a finishing school in New York. The driver remembered them for he had set them down at this station not three hours previously near the end of his down-east run. Now he was returning and here were the same two passengers who had told him a short time before that they were on their way to pay a surprise visit to a

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doting, spinster aunt who lived in that town and with whom they planned to spend a week.

He was not a little surprised to see them again so soon, their planned surprise visit so quickly over. He was more astonished to note their air of agitation and somewhat taken aback at their request to the driver to "dead head" them into New York. He hesitated. They insisted it was urgent. They would be able to get their fare as soon as they reached New York. He told them, somewhat reluctantly, to hop in, and as the journey and the night wore on, he got their story.

They had reached Auntie's home somewhat after dusk. Auntie, who boasted no servants, had gone to an early movie. The house was locked. But the two nieces knew Auntie. They knew her cautious habit of parking the back door key under the front door mat. It was a scheme that Auntie had worked out through the years to protect her nice little home from burglars while she was away.

Sure enough, under the front door mat the girls found the back door key and let themselves in. It was cold in the house. The girls were hungry after their journey. They went to the kitchen and began putting to a test their New York finishing school education in the matter of lighting a fire. The education proved sadly remiss until the girls happened upon a can of kerosene. The stove did the customary thing. The kitchen was soon ablaze. The girls escaped uninjured, but the small house was reduced to charred timbers and ash in short order. The girls waited around while the local fire fighters did their best. They did not, however, wait until Auntie returned from the movies.

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Occupations

(*Continued from page* 6)

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